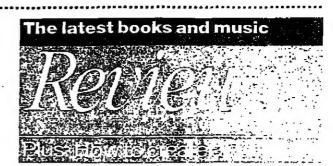
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The Scott Report Special four-page analysis





'Deliberate failure' by Waldegrave

Lyell was 'personally at fault'

Major: we're not guilty

Cook accuses ministers of ducking facts

OHN Major last night threw a protective shield around the two centre of the arms-to-Iraq controversy in the face of caustic criticism of their conduct in the long-awaited Scott Report and angry Opposition calls for their dismissal.

Both the Chief Secretary to the Treasury, William Walde-grave, and Sir Nicholas Lyell, the Attorney General, insisted they would not resign and Downing Street made plain it will fight to keep them as Labour renews what Mr Major regards as its scur-rilous counter-attack today. Yesterday's Cabinet deci-

sion to tough out the pre-elec-tion crisis came despite Mr Waldegrave being accused of form Parliament about a decision to allow exports of more arms-related equipment to his since the report blames him personally for not con-opposition"—particularly in veying Michael Heseltine's light of Saddam Hussein's doubts about the PII device to gassing of Kurds. Sir Richard Scott says in

his report that there was a change of policy towards Iraq in 1988, and to argue otherin 1988, and to argue otherwise, as Mr Waldegrave and his fellow ministers did, amounted to "sophistry"

He criticises Sir Nicholas for being "personally at fault" in his handling of the Matrix Churchill trial — the collapse of which triggered the 39month inquity.

But his tarcets go beyond closely involved. Sir Richard accuses the Government of "failing to discharge the obligations imposed by the constitutional principle of ministe-rial accountability". Questions of Procedure for

Ministers says it is their duty not to deceive or mislead Parliament, "Example after example has come to light of an apparent failure by ministers to discharge that obligation."

The Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues clung to Sir Richard's acceptance that there was no conspiracy to let innocent Matrix Churchill defendants go to jail and that both ministers acted "hon-eatly and in good faith" as the Thatcher government changed its policies to help British industry cash in on the end of the frandraq war. There was "no duplicitous in-

tention", the report concedes. In a combative Commons statement, Ian Lang, the Trade Secretary, promised to act on Lord Justice Scott's calls for reforms, including greater government openness and better management of intelligence reports, while insisting that it was Labour's duty to apologise for three years of "reckless and mali-

acy and cover-up.
The Whitehall publicity machine had eight days in which to hone its defence since receiving the 1,800 page report. It was given to MPs and peers 10 minutes before Mr Lang spoke yesterday. Faced with what Tory loyal-ical letter and was "seen him."

ists later said was "a cock-up, not a conspiracy", Labour insisted that incompetence alone would warrant the two

Mr Waldegrave went on a media offensive, thanking Sir Richard — who had been heavily attacked by senior Tories before publication — for "clearing me of lying to be a manufacture of the senior to the Parliament or intending to mislead anyone in letters I signed". Sir Nicholas said the

judge's view that public interest immunity (PII) certifiin the Matrix Churchill trial was not backed by most legal opinion. But if any ministe rial blood is shed in the battle ahead, it remains likely to be

the trial judge. Led by the shadow foreign blatant news management designed to duck the Report's two central conclusions: that ministers did change their arms sale policy towards Saddam Hussein and that they refused to admit it either to Parliament or the courts.
In Sir Richard's words,

there was "clear evidence" that ministers knew of the Iraqi supergun a year before parts of it were seized by Brit-ish Customs in 1989, Mr Cook said. As for the intelligence information as to the true des-tiny of Matrix Churchill ma-chine tools — Iraq — it was "so strong" that ministerial insistence to the contrary amounted to "the Nelsonian

use of a blind eye". Downing Street made no effort to defend Alan Clark whose "gungho" attitude towards the guidelines is recorded — or Lord Tref-garne, both junior ministers who modified the guidelines with Mr Waldegrave.

Downing Street officials are stressing both Mr Major's anger at Opposition "smears" and his record as a champion of the kind of open govern-ment and accountability to Parliament the Scott inquiry

Thatcher years. The one minister who emerges with enhanced pres-tige is Mr Heseltine, who saw political problems Sir Nicho-las and others failed to spot.

Scott report analysis, pages 2-5; Leader comment, page 10; Martin Woolks

IRA bomb found in London

ONDON'S West End was brought to a standstill yes-terday after an IRA device understood to be 11b of Semtex — was planted in a telephone booth in an area crowded with office workers and tourists, write Duncan Campbell and David

Shurrock. The device, in a sports bag in Churing Cross Road, was disarmed after two coded warnings. An area of about second London bo

In a further confirmation that the ceasefire had ender a senior member of the IRA told the Sinn Fein newspape An Phoblacht (Republican News) that the ceasefire was over and blamed John Major-

for the breakdown.
The former Irish prime minister. Albert Reynolds. said yesterday he had been in-formed by loyalists that a second London bomb would



Sir Richard Scott at the publication of his long-awaited report

Main points of the inquiry

- Government policy towards the export of "non -lethal military goods" was changed following the Iran-Iraq ceasefire in 1988 in a way that should have been reported to the Commons.
- The ministers involved in shaping this change were William Waldegrave, Alan Clark and Lord
- It was a substantive change in policy, not a reinterpretation of existing advice in the light of changing circumstances, as Mr Waldegrave claimed in his evidence to the Scott inquiry.
- Government ministers "deliberately" falled to inform Parliament of this secret shift in policy because of fears of public opposition.
- None of the ministers involved in the changes acted with "duplicitous" Intent in reshaping guidelines, but they agreed that no publicity hould be given to the decision to relax them.
- The failure to reveal the relaxation of restrictions "precluded a public debate on this important issue taking place on an informed
- The Government's claim that its position over arms sales to Iran and Iraq was "even-handed" had been untrue since the decision, taken as a consequence of the Salman Rushdle affair, to return to a more strict approach towards Iran.
- In the Supergun affair, MI6 and the Government had reason to suspect that pipes being produced

- in Britain by Walter Somers were intended for military use long before the pipes were seized by Customs in 1990, but did not act. Trade Secretary Nicholas Ridley misled Parliament
- No British arms reached either Iraq or Iran during the bloody conflict between the two countries in the 1980s.

over how long the Government had known.

- The Matrix Churchill arms-to-Iraq trial was "a trial that ought never to have commenced". Investigation by HM Customs of defences ilable to those charged was "inadequate".
- The Government had no intention of sending innocent men to jail by blocking the release of crucial documents in the Matrix Churchill trial. Michael Heseltine and other ministers should be exonerated from this allegation.
- However, the preparation and signing of Public Interest Immunity Certificates to block the release of government documents to the defence suffered from a number of "defects".
- The practice of using Pils as they were in the Matrix Churchill trial "had been prescribed in civil cases and had no authoritative precedent in a criminal trial*, but ministers were not informed of this before being asked to sign.
- Attorney General Sir Nicholas Lyell was personally at fault for failing to brief the Matrix Churchill trial prosecutors of Michael Heseltine's reluctance to sign a Pil.

'Not a verdict but a challenge to our sense of morality'

Commentary

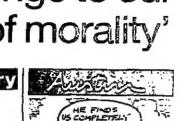
Hugo Young

IR Richard Scott Is a decent man. He says the ministers he was inves-tigating are decent men. They nade mistakes, but becaus they sincerely believed they were not making them, they can claim exoneration from

the charges against them.
It's a very British verdict of the kind unfamiliar to a court of law. The judge does not name the guilty men. He won't put the black mark on them. He leaves it open for the equally British pattern to re-affirmed whereby things may have gone wrong but nobody is responsible. In the end the judge sub-con-tracts final judgment to politi-cians and the people Yesterday, the conspiracy

of sincerity worked well for the Government. All the facts are in the report, but the conclusion to be drawn is left tan-talisingly open. Ministers misled Parliament time after time, but because they didn't mean to, we're invited to bring in an acquittal. The Attorney-General got law and practice wrong in dealing with Mr Heseltine's anxieties about signing away the Matrix Churchill defendants' right to demand material evidence for their defence. But he is not stigmatised. He is apparently to survive on the strength of a double negative from Scott: "I do not accept that he is not personally at

So Mr Attorney Lyell is an honourable man. So are they





assessed is not Lord Justice Scott's. He merely lays out the facts, and declares for the sincerity with which these people made their crass mis takes. The court of public opinion is what matters. And the question before the people is: how much sincerity is

munity Certificates, a little may suffice. This was the sting John Major most resented. He couldn't and didn't believe that Tory ministers, his colleagues round the cabinet table, had knowingly signed bits of paper de-signed to send innocent men to prison. It would be so completely unBritish. And unsofar as Labour rather unwisely fell for the temptation to build this into a "conspiracy" to pervert the course of justice. Scott's account gives Messrs Clarke, Riskind and others the talk-out they always knew furn to page 6. column 3

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in the frame: Ministers and officials fight to fend off a range of criticism in the report

Parliament was deliberately misled over arms sales for fear of 'strong public opposition'. To argue otherwise amounts to 'sophistry'





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Punches are pulled over blame but

Richard Norton-Taylor assesses the impact of criticisms on both politicians and civil servants

and did so for fear "of strong public opposition". The polcy was secretly changed and to argue otherwise, as minis-ters — specifically William

These, together with sharp criticism of the role of Sir Nicholas Lyell, the Attorney General in the Matrix Churchill arms-to-Iraq prosecu-tion, are the key political conclusions in a catalogue of incompetence, bad official advice, and an obsession with secrecy spread across the 1.800 pages of Sir Richard

conduct - says Sir Richard. Ministers, he says, "failed to discharge the obligations im-posed by the constitutional principle of ministerial accountability".

and branch reform of Whitehall practice in a plea for more open and honest govern-

cisms more powerful. "The answers to parliamentary questions, in both Houses of Parliament, failed to inform Parliament of the current state of government policy on non-lethal arms sales to Iraq," he says. He adds: "This failure was

deliberate and was an inevitable result of the agreement between the three junior minisand letters written in resgassing of Iraqi Kurds as tended to enable British comthan 'minor adjustments'.' Mr Major about British policy
to parliamentary questions cry after Saddam Hussein's
to parliamentary questions cry

former trade ministers, Alan Clark and Lord Trefgarne They secretly agreed to relax export controls to Iraq at the end of 1988 after the ceasefire in the Iraq-Iran war.

As a result of whatSir Richard describes as the minis-ters' "conscious" decision,

made in 1969 and 1990 about policy on defence exports to Iraq consistently failed, in my opinion, to comply with the standards set ... by the Questions of Procedure for Ministers — to MPs and the ters — guidelines set by the Government to cover its own Government to cover its own Conduct — says Sir Richard.

place on an informed basis." too, that evidence from the thousands of Whitehall documents provided to his in-quiry, showed that the deliberate decision to keep the decision secret was the result

Explanations given by Lord retary, and Mr Waldegrave that they did not warn Lady Thatcher of the secret shift in the export guidelines because the decision was not sufficonvincing", says Sir Richard. "Whatever the eventual result, in terms of defence sales to Iraq . . . the intention of those who were involved ... was that the changes would be a good deal more

Major was given notice that the Government was treating Lady Thatcher, in 1989 directed to a plan to sell Hawk

Heseltine stand ignored | 'Untrue' letters sent to MPs

Lyell

David Pallister on a 'serious omission' by the Attorney General in failing fully to instruct the prosecutor on PII reservations

IR Nicholas Lyell, the Attorney General who handled the prepara-

Churchill trial was person ally at fault for a serious omission in the prosecution case, Sir Richard said. This was the failure to instruct the prosecuting coun-sel Alan Moses QC that Michael Heseltine, then trade and industry secretary, had reservations about signing a public interest immunity certificate designed to persude the judge not to disclose docu-

ments to the defence.

Mr Heseltine believed that some of the documents covered by the certificate were helpful to the defence and should be disclosed.

vised of Mr Heseltine's doubts, even though Sir Nich-olas had assured Mr Hesel-tine that the limited scope of his PII would be drawn to the attention of the court.

Sir Richard said he accepted "the genuineness of ported his view that minis-Richard said he ac rent legal practice in 1992 sup-sure. If he had done so, and authors would be likely to "the genuineness of ported his view that minis-had insisted on disclosure, have endorsed it."



ally, as opposed to constitu-tionally, blameless for the inadequacy of the instructions sent to Mr Moses. But I do not accept that he was not personally at fault. The issues raised by Mr Heseltine's stand on the PII certificate did not fall into the category of mundane that could properly be dealt with by officials in the Treasury Solicitor's Department without the Attorney General's supervision."
Sir Richard said Mr Hesel

tine's concerns raised very serious issues, constitutional and legal, and it was the responsibility of the Attorney General to see they were ar-ticulated. "Major responsi-bility for the inadequacy of the instructions to Mr Moses must in my only long to borne must, in my opinion, be borne by the Attorney General."
In a written statement issued with the report, Sir

ters had a duty to sign PII certificates, though Sir Richard found exceptions to this. Sir Nicholas said the no-tions that ministers signed the certificates to suppress inpared to see innocent men sent to prison are completely

Sir Nicholas accepted that Mr Moses's brief had been inadequate by not including correspondence between Mr Heseletine and himself, but "the system operated exactly as it was intended to do ... Every document was shown to the judge. The judge read the papers and himself de-cided which documents should be disclosed."

In his criticisms of the handling of Mr Heseltine's certificate, Sir Richard said: "I would have expected him (the Attorney General) to recognise that important consti-tutional and legal issues were raised by Mr Heseltine's stand and to have ensured that Mr Moses, whose responsibility was to place the issues fairly before the court, was adequately instructed so that he could discharge that

responsibility.
"So far as the preparation
of Mr Moses's brief and the
instructions to Mr Moses were concerned, there was, in my opinion, an absence of the personal involvement by the Attorney General that Mr He-seltine's stance and its implications had made necessary." Sir Richard said Mr Heseltine was not told that he had a discretion to authorise disclo-

that would have undermine the credibility of the certificates signed by other

Sir Richard reported evi-dence that Sir Nicholas had not read any of the documents covered by the PII certifi-cates, but at a meeting with Mr Moses on September 10, 1992, just before the trial started, Mr Moses assured him that "there was nothing in the documents that in any way called into question the fairness of the prosecution". Sir Richard argued that the use of PII certificates in the

trial was unfair to the de-In particular he singled out the fact that a statement from an intelligence officer was of them signed by the then Home Secretary, Kenneth Clarke, because it was helpful

to the prosecution. The statement had also been handed to the defence before Mr Clarke signed the certificate. "This was a clear demonstration of the uneven strength of the prosecution's hand compared with that of the defence under the PII

practice espoused by the At-torney General." Sir Richard remarked that the Attorney General had given him two articles for legal journals which supported his views on the use of PII certificates. But he commented: "I am bound to say that having read the two articles suggested by the At-torney General to be supportive of his advice, I formed the view that neither of the

Waldegrave

Former FO minister accused of misleading House in saying guidelines were not changed. David Pallister lists the charges

ILLIAM Waldegrave, the foreign office minister from 1988-90, is criticised for sending 38 untrue letters to MPs between March and July 1989, and for misleading Parliament.

In the letters he asserts that the Government have not changed their policy on defence sales to Iraq or Iran." Sir Richard said: "Mr Waldegrave knew, first hand, the facts that, in my opinion, rendered the 'no change in pol-icy statement untrue." Sir Richard accused the minister, along with other colleagues, of giving parliamentary answers which de-liberately failed to inform

MPs about the new guide-Mr Waldegrave rejected the report's criticisms in every particular. In a prepared statement he said: "Sir Richard Scott clears me of lying to Par-liament or intending to mis-lead anyone in letters I signed.

ments covered by PII certifi-cates. Sir Richard criticises the instructions as "inade-quate". They omitted to men-

tion Michael Heseltine's

reluctance to sign his certifi-cate. Mr Heseltine had asked

that his misgivings be passed

that I did not comive in allow ing machine tools for arms manufacture to go to Iraq."

After the report was released Mr Waldegrave repeatedly said that Sir Richard accepted that he had had no intention to mislead. "The vital thing" he mislead. "The vital thing." he said. "Is that he doesn't doubt my good faith."

Sir Richard singled out a

parliamentary answer to Liberal Democrat MP David Alton in February 1989 in which Mr Waldegrave said: "There has been no change in our policy on arms sales to Iran ..." But Sir Richard then ..." But Sir Richard then notes a letter from Mr Waldegrave's private secretary on February 7 which said: "Mr Waldegrave is content for us to implement a more liberal policy on defence sales, without any public announcement on the subject.

Sir Richard concluded that the failure to tell the House of Commons about the change "was the inevitable result of the agreement between the

degrave. Alan Clark, and have come to the conclusion | rate and misleading but he that the overriding and determinate reason was a fear of strong public opposition to the loosening of the restrictions on the supply of defence equipment to the strong public opposition. Sir Richard endorses the equipment to Iraq and a consequential fear that the pres-sure of the opposition might be detrrimental to British

trading interests."
Although Sir Richard accepted that Mr Waldegrave did not regard the agreement to change the guidelines as a change of policy, he said there was "overwhelming evi-dence to the contrary."

Mr Waldegrave also gave "inaccurate" replies in his letters when he said that government policy was covered by the "strict application of guidelines."
The report says: "The inac-curacy should have been no-

ticed by Mr Waldegrave, who had been one of the midwives at the birth of this new formulation."
In one of his letters in April

1989 Mr Waldegrave claimed that the Government was "even-handed" in arms sales to Iran and Iraq, after stricter criteria were applied to Iran following the *fatura* against Salman Rushdie in February. Sir Richard said that Mr Waldegrave's claim that this was a true statement "is not, in my opinion, remotely

arguable."
In a further letter to Tom

Lord Trefgarne that no pub-licity would be given to the stant review" in the light of licity would be given to the decision to adopt a more liberal, or relaxed policy . . . I Richard said this was inaccu-

evidence given to him by the former Foreign Office official Mark Higson, who told the inquiry that letters he drafted for Mr Waldegrave were un-

true. Mr Waldegrave's correspondence with colleagues, and his written evidence to the inquiry about how the altered guidelines were no more than a new flexibility, is not reflecting reality. The report says the new guidelines were a real change in allowing the export to Iraq of non-lethal equipment used

primarily for defence Although Mr Waldegrave had no "duplicitous intention." Sir Richard said the changes were duplicitous in themselves. Sir Richard also accuses Mr

Waldegrave of sophistry in suggesting that the guidelines were not really changed because they were not formally approved by senior ministers and the Prime Minister. Mr Waldegrave's direct evi-

dence to Sir Richard arguing that the guidelines had not been changed, despite being shown internal Whitehall documents to the contrary, is also brusquely dealt with. "I regard Mr Waldegrave's view liament or intending to mis-lead anyone in letters I signed. The agreement between the He also proves beyond doubt three junior ministers [Wal- Mr Waldegrave insisted that able," he said.

Unsound advice and inadequate briefings: report reserves some

'The avoidance of criticism is an unacceptable reason for keeping facts from Parliament'

Clare Dyer, Simon Beavis Chris Barrie, Edward

Richard examines the roles of civil ser-vants involved in the Matrix Churchill prosecution and the conduct of ministers who signed Public Interest Immunity certificates, effectively denying the defendants a fair trial. Most criticism is reserved for officials. Sir Brian Unwin, head of the Government.

Customs and Excise, told the inquiry he decided to pursue the case despite being given "storm signals" by senior civil servants. They hinted that he would be entering "highly delicate territory". Sir Richard accepts the decision to prosecute was made independently of government ministers, who would have preferred to let the matter drop. But Customs and Excise is critised for adopting a stance too closely aligned to

dence that led to the trial's collapse, Sir Brian called a meeting with Alan Moses QC, Customs' senior prosecuting counsel, to discuss dropping charges against the defendants. Mr Moses told the meeting that Customs had executed the policy of clamping down on companies suspected of exporting arms to Iraq "in

licence policy". Mr Moses comes in for criticism over his application to trial judge Brian Sweeney to have information withheld trial judge Brian Sweeney to have information withheld from the defence under PII by Customs. It blames certificates. These "gagging Andrew Leithead, an assis- licensing bureau at the time, Office and Ministry of De-

for the Government's export

government ministers.

Mr Moses said in pre-trial hearings that he had read the documents which the Govern-ment wished to keep secret. He concluded they did not assist the defence "in relation to any foreseeable issue".

But Sir Richard calls Mr tally unsound" and "flawed". He continues: "The value of the documents to the defendants in preparing to crossexamine government officials and ministers . . . seems to me so obvious as to be hardly worth stating."

on to the judge.

Mr Leithead is also criticised for advising two DTI officials to alter their witness

The report notes that on orders" were signed by five tant Treasury Solictor in showing the department suspected the evilar to the partment of the Department poses, were deleted. Mr Leith-ead said in evidence that he Industry.

Mr Leithead played a key role in briefing Mr Moses to was "merely suggesting to Mr resist disclosure of the docu-Steadman what the correct

> The report says: "It is clear that ... Mr Leithead had no knowledge of the facts and matters with which the statement was dealing ... I do not doubt Mr Leithead's good intentions but it was, in the circumstances, dangerous for him to take it upon himself to suggest alterations to the

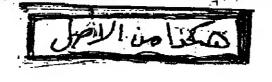
statements. Sentences in the statement by Anthony Stead-man, head of the DTT's export tently, officials at the Foreign

vant at the DTI export licens-ing bureau, is attacked over his evidence at the trial. Sir Richard says his evidence "was not frank", and was was designed to protect officials

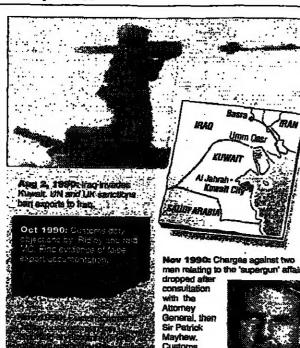
and ministers. Sir Richard records Mr Beston's comments on his report's conclusions. "In retrospect, I should have given more time to reexamining events and re-reading original papers. But it was never my intention to give anything other than frank evidence."

fence. His role centres on confusion over three 1988 export licences for machine tools. The end use for the equipment was never established. But Eric Beston, a civil serulation of the principle dustry, at least read the information on which the certificates were based. He told the inquiry that he "did not regard himself as having a discretion to decline to claim PII for documents which fell within the 'advice to minis-ters' class." Mr Lilley was worried he might compro-

mise security. Kenneth Clarke, then home secretary, gave permission for a Security Service officer to give evidence anony. ther than frank evidence." mously, a decision which con-The report largely exoner-flicted with the Attorney Gen-









Feb 1991: British land forces

Paul Henderson (below) and

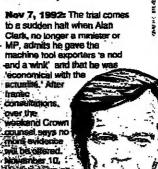
bert in swift and to Guif

and Pater Liney, sign. Nov 1991: The MC 3

committed to trial at the Old



Oct 1992: MC trial opens at the Old Bailey.



May 1993 to June 1994: the scale of arms-related

exports to Iraq; The misleading of Parliament by ministers; the willingness of ministers to see arms company directors go to jail for actions condoned by the

1994: Whispenng campaign begins in White discredit the

May 1994: Conviction against two Euromac director ntenced in the Iradi 'nuclear triggers' case quashed on

July 1994: Conviction

against Dunk quashed.

June 1995: Leak of draft Scott report to BBC suggests risk of severe criticism.

Nov 1995: Conviction against Ordiec 4 quashed on

Jan 1996: Former ministers Lord Howe and Douglas Hurd give interviews criticising the inquiry as flawed and unfair Rows begin over who gets

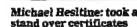


misleading MPs over arms cover-up

Sir Nicholas Lyell should have told prosecution of Heseltine's reservations

Sally Weale reports on the implications drawn from a trial which Sir Richard concluded should not have happened







 ought never to have been commenced, Sir Richard Scott concluded in

In his post-mortem into the ill-fated prosecution of the three company directors, Sir Richard focuses his critici-sism on the role of Attorney General Sir Nicholas Lyell for his handling of the

prosecutions.
Sir Nicholas is further criticised for his preparation of the Public Interest Immunity certificates, commonly known as gagging orders.

The PIIs prevented disclo-sure to the court of documents which would have shown that guidelines on ex-ports to Iraq had changed and thus that the Matrix Churchill directors were not in breach of government

Sir Richard said the chief been given inadequate

Mr Moses should, Sir Richard said, have been informed of concerns expressed by of the Board of Trade, about signing a PII certificate beore the prosecution. Mr Heseltine, who said he feared he would be accused of being involved in a cover-up, only signed after being told by Sit Nicholas that he had no

Sir Richard said major responsibility for the inade-

HE Matrix Churchill trial was one which — with the benefit of hindsight the benefit of hindsight the benefit of hindsight the was not be benefit to be benefit of hindsight the was not be benefit to be benefit personally at fault".
"The issues that had been

raised by Mr Heseltine's stand on the PII certificate did not fall into the category of mundane, routine, run o the mill issues that could properly be left to be dealt with by officials in the Trea-sury Solicitor's Department without the Attorney General's supervision.

"Mr Heseltine had taken his stand not as a result of any legal analysis which he was not equipped to make, but as a result of an apprehension that justice might not be done if the documents were defendants." Mr Heseltine's apprehen

sion raised very serious issues — constitutional and legal — as to the role of PII ertificates in criminal cases Sir Richard said, Mr Hesel prosecution counsel in the time, as a non-lawyer, could trial. Alan Moses QC, had not have been expected to ar-

ticulate them.
The Attorney General, how-ever, should have recognised them and should have raised them with Mr Moses whose responsibility was to place the issues fairly before the court, to ensure that counse could discharge that responsibility. "So far as the preparation could

of Mr Moses' brief and the in-structions to Mr Moses were concerned, there was, in my opinion, an absence of the personal involvement by the Attorney General that Mr HeA 'grudging' government attitude towards disclosure is criticised. In contrast, the Security Service and Secret Intelligence Service were willing to

The immediate reason for the collapse of the Matrix Churchill trial in November 1992 was the apparent incon-sistencies between defence minister Alan Clark's evidence in court and his earlier

disclose material

witness statement. Sir Richard also identifies shortcomings in the role of Customs, who failed to properly investigate the two lines of defence anticipated in the

The first was that the Government, in the shape of Mr Clark, had encouraged the machine tool manufacturers to suppress their knowledge of the intended use of the tools in the production of munitions.

The second was the fact

mind about — the intended use of machine tools for the production of munitions and conventional weapons. Responsibility for the in-

adequate investigation and search for documents must, in my opinion, be borne by the whole prosecution team." Sir Richard says. His report also criticises

the "consistently grudging" attitude of the Government towards disclosure of the doc-uments to the defence. In con-trast, Sir Richard said, the Security Service and the Secret Intelligence Service had been willing, with editing where necessary, to disclose its documents to the defence. "The approach ought to

have been to consider what documents the defence might reasonably need and then to consider whether there was any good reason why the defence should not have them. "The actual approach in respect of all documents. seems to have been to seek some means by which refusal

to disclose could be justified." Turning specifically to the issue of the PIIs, Sir Richard concluded that class claims to immunity — ie those which covered entire classes of documents — were not war-ranted and should have had no place in a criminal trial.

Mr Heseltine's reluctance to sign the PII certificate in case he deprived the defen-dants of access to documents "evidenced an instinct for the requirements of justice that was fully justfied". Mr Heseltine had been led

to believe it was his legal duty e the PII cla Mr Moses should be borne by cations had made necessary." | aware of — and in fact did not | Sir Richard responded: "The | eign Office and the Ministry | the right one.

proposition that a minister is ever under a legal duty to claim PII in order to protect documents from disclosure to the defence notwithstanding that in the minister's view the public interest requires their disclosure to the defence is, in my opinion, based on a

fundamental misconception

of the principles of PII law. In his final paragraph in the section of his report decase, which has been seized upon by the Government, Sir Richard says charges that ministers who signed the PII certificates were seeking to deprive defendants of the means by which to clear themselves were "not wellfounded". Ministers were entitled to rely on advice from

their lawyers.
In the Ordtec case, Sir Richard says that the PII certificates signed by Peter Lilley in the case against four execu-tives of the company and in their appeal by Douglas Hurd and Michael Howard did not contribute to the inability of the defendents to obtain the relevant documents

Ordtec, unlike Matrix Churchill, did not hold a licence for the export of fuse assembley lines or their components to Iraq: their licence was for export to Jordan. One of its directors. Paul Grecian, had provided information to intelligence agencies. Sir Richard says that in cor-

respondence as the case against the men was being prepared, DTI official Anthony Steadman instituted a "dummy run" application

The issues that had been raised by Mr Heseltine's stand did not fall into the category of mundane. routine, run of the mill issues that could properly be left to officials'

of Defence to determine whether the assembley line would have been granted an export to Iraq in November 1989, and which showed clearly that the revised guidelines were being taken into

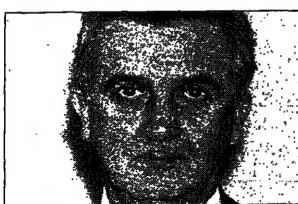
Sir Richard comments: The dummy-run application, and the subsequent correspondence between Mr Steadman and the FCO, is yet another illustration that from around April 1989 the revised guidelines were being applied at operational level."

Sir Richard says that the decision to drop the prosecution of Keith Bailey, the chief executive of BSA Tools Ltd. over the export of lathes to Iraq in view of the DTI's

'Truth' means whole truth

Holding back information 'undermines democracy'

Sarah Boseley details the report's calls for wide-ranging changes



Tristan Garel-Jones: Had to sign certificate overnight

IME and again the in-quiry heard examples of ministers failing to discharge their obligation to inform and avoid misleading or deceiving Par-liament and the public, Sir Richard says.

He cites, for instance, lack of disclosure during parliamentary questions on defence sales policy to Iran and Iraq in spring 1985 of the existence of the Howe guidelines of 1984. If a minister withholds in-

formation, it is not a full ac-count. Sir Richard says baidly, and the obligation of ministerial accountability has not been discharged. The proper judgment on a govern-ment's record and "it undermines ... the democratic

countries. He points to Britain's strong backing for the 1991 United Nations Arms Register, which identifies who has supplied what to whom, and concludes that parliamentary questions relating to such matters must

now be answered.

The time is ripe for a comprehensive review, he says, calling for public debate and government clarification on the withholding of such information "in the public

"Is it any longer satisfactory that Parliament and the British public are not entitled to be told to which countries public is left unable to make a and in what quantities goods such as artillery shells, land mines and cluster bombs have been licensed for export?" he asics.

process."

Sir Richard calls for a reexamination of the justification for a refusal to answer parliamentary questions on sales of arms and defence related equipment to other.

process."

He accepts the distinction reasons for exercising such control.

Sir Richard would ideally like to see Parliament vote regularly to continue or to versarial court ability. Ministers of ditch any export control sys-

they knew nothing and which they could not have foreseen. But, he says, ministers must be accountable by giv-ing forthright information on

the incident so Parliament and the public could judge. Public Interest Immunity certificates should also be the subject of a comprehensive rethink. PII claims on a class basis — covering a whole cat-egory, such as arms to Iraq should not in future be made. PII claims on the contents of a specific document should also not be made if those documents could belp the defence in court. "There is no true balance to be struck" with public interest in such a case.

Sir Richard says. No PII claim on an individual document should be made unless the minister believed "disclosure will cause sub-stantial harm". No minister should be put in the position that Tristan Garel-Jones found himself in, of having to sign a PII certificate over-night Ministers must have

adequate time to reflect on where the public interest lies. The case for withholding a document should not be made to the court by the same bar-rister who was conducting the prosecution. Sir Richard says, and where a PII certificate was signed, it should de-scribe the nature of the with-held document in as much

detail as possible, so that the defence could assess whether it might help its case. Sir Richard calls for a "long ernment's powers to impose controls on exports from the United Kingdom. "The pres-ent legislative structure, under which government has an unfettered power to impose whatever export controls it wishes and to use those controls for any purposes it thinks fit, should ... be

replaced as soon as practicable." He wants a thorough review of the extent and nature of any powers the Gov-ernment ought to have to control exports in peacetime, the way Parliament oversees the use of such powers, the type of goods in question, and the

could not be blamed for tem. He points out that the things which happened in Government chose to comply their departments of which with a United Nations resolution, passed on the invasion of Kuwait, to restrict arms sales to Iraq by using statu-tory powers dating to an act of 1939 which did not have to rather than one of 1946, which

did require a vote. He recommends that the Government publish a consultation paper as soon as poss-ible, with proposals for replacing the 1939 act and bringing in an export licens-ing system suitable for the modern peacetime age. Legislation should spell out

the broad purposes governing the imposition of export con-trols. These should include complying with treaty obligations, the protection of Brit-ain's armed forces, prevention of terrorism, and the avoidance of assistance to human rights abuses, serious crime or aggression in or by foreign countries. Sir Richard has yet to be convinced that there should be any other

He questions whether the Department of Trade and In-dustry should automatically be the export licensing au-thority for goods whose export is primarily the concern of some other department. This amounts to a fiction in the case of arms, since the decision was effectively taken by the Ministry of Defence.

The role of Customs in both policing and prosecuting in export control cases was anomalous, Sir Richard says. But he does not want its powers passed to the ordinary police and prosecuting

authorities.
Instead, he wants to see the prosecutions supervised by the Attorney General, as with the Crown Prosecution Service and the Serious Fraud

With the benefit of hindsight, Sir Richard lays down principles for the future conduct of inquisitorial inquiries, following the criticism which his inquiry attracted from government ministers. He talks of "the mevitable tension between ... the requirements of fairness and

He comes down against the present a witness's case and versarial courts, except in

... the need for an efficient



ves som

Computer 'reveals' Anonymous

jan Katz in New York

RESPECTED literary scholar claims to have solved Ameria's most talked about political whodunnit by identifying the author of Pri mary Colors, the best-selling roman-a-clef about the 1992 Clinton campaign which has obsessed the chattering classes since its publication last month.

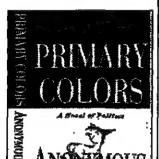
of English at Vassar College, New York state, who shot to international attention last month when he claimed to have authenticated a "lost" Shakespeare poem, says he used computer analysis to establish that the novel's anonymous author was Joe Klein, political columnist of

Newsweek magazine.
Prof Foster was asked by
New York Magazine to
compare the prose style of
Primary Colours with the writing of several of those suspected of being the author, using the same techniques he employed to verify the Shake-

speare poem. He fed tens of thousands of words from the novel into a computer programme which looked for similarities with writing by widely touted susects, such as Doonesbury cartoonist Gary Trudeau, New York Times columnist Maureen Dowd, and New Yorker writer Michael Kelly. According to New York Magazine, which publishes details of his analysis on Monday, the results pointed conclusively to Mr Klein.

"Joe Klein wrote the book or

else it's an almost impossibly



Primery Colours, at the top

wanted his work to be taken for Joe Klein's." Prof Foster

said yesterday.

If correct, he will have put an end to a frenzied guessing game over what President Clinton called "the only secret I've seen kept in Wash-ington in three years". Primary Colors is about a

libidinous southern gover-nor's quest for the presi-dency. Its close resemblance to the Clinton campaign and abundance of inside knowlege meant that suspicion fell first on White House aides, such as the youthful Clinton advisor. George Stephanopoulos. But speculation has also

swirled around writers such as Mr Klein, who covered the Clinton campaign in 1992.

intensified last week when Primary Colors hit the top of most bestseller lists and its mysterious author signed a Simillion film deal. Random House, the book's

publisher, has insisted that the author's identity is known only to Kathy Rob-bins, the literary agent who negotiated the deal, and a lawyer. Asked about Prof Foster's claim yesterday, Harold Evans, president of Random House, said: "I really don't know and I'm not allowed to speculate."

Kurt Anderson, editor of New York Magazine, said Prof Foster's analysis was 'an extension of the extremely clever literary prank that Anonymous began. It will teach Americans that ac-ademic egg-heads are useful". One of the reasons many suspected a White House insider of writing the novel was that the speech patterns and vocabulary of its characters closely matched those of the Mr Clinton's family and aides. Challenged recently by the Washington Post in a survey

"All of us who are accused of this should stand up and say, 'I am Spartacus'. And share Prof Foster claims the clincher lies in a private joke buried in the first paragraph, in which the narrator, Henry Burton, remarks: "I am small and not so dark." The word

for small in German, Prof

Foster points out, is "klein"

The journalist is white.

quartets and The Rite Of

Spring? A play written for ac-tors playing downstage centre

Mahon's translation is

etic, loosely iambic heat, which is so essential if the lin-

guistic tremors of Phaedra's passion are to resonate power ully. Mahon's main energies are

lithe, spare, muscular and

rhythmically subtle. He wisely established a firm, po-

of suspects, Mr Klein replied

Redmond O'Hanlon

RANSLATION is a com-

plex negotiation between different cultures and

rhetorics and translating Racine's Phèdre is more com-

plex than most — perhaps ex-plaining why it is only now getting its Irish premiere. At the Gate, Derek Mahon's fine

translation played to an en-thralled and intrigued audi-

ence of poets, playwrights and

Phaedra is consumed with lust for her stepson, Hippoly-

tus — a lust that first over-whelmed her on the day of her

wedding to Theseus. Racine's

Phèdre is barbaric, animal

and incandescent, but her

tragedy is contained in some of the most elegant, formal

and civilised dramatic verse

are rhythmic, not physical: every actor has to have a deep

musical sense, and the requi-site vocal equipment, if the

tremors are to vibrate in an audience. When not in bed with her, Racine rehearsed his first Phèdre, La Champ-

meslé, as if she were singing oratorio. Lully sent his sing

ers to hear her. Anne Delbée, who directed a great Phêdre in

Paris some years ago, told me she had to spend months sensi-tising her French actors to

Racine's strange and foreign tongue. This gives us some sense of the challenge facing

David Brindle

OFFICIAL forecasts of Britain's population

growth have been cut by more

than a million because of the shrinking average family.

Projections published yes-

ever written. When the

Gate, Dublin

The oratorio of

Phaedra's lust

First night

Chasing the audience: A rough guide to British TV merger potential Percentage figures in the boxes show aggregate percentage British television nce share of the relevant combination (based on ITG/BARB figures at LWT Neo London 14.9% TV audience egnem eldisor 124% ould these two YNETTES or ITC TYNETERS 14.8% or ITC 10.9% or ITC 121% or ITC 11.9% obie me





Granada limbers up for Yorkshire TV takeover

Lisa Buckingham

RANADA, the television, rentals and catering group which last month spent £3.8 billion buying the Forte hotels empire, yesterday pounced on Yorkshire-Tyne Tees Television, launching a £50 million stock market dawn raid on the company's shares.

The move made it almost inevitable that Granada will bid for Yorkshire, which is now valued at more than £515 million, even though the group said it had "no present intention" of making such a

But Granada, which also owns LWT and whose pro-

grammes include Coronation will try to buy Yorkshire if a rival company launches a bid or builds up a shareholding of more than 20 per cent.

Yorkshire is regarded as the jewel among the remaining ITV companies with a prestigious programming li-brary including Darling Buds of May, the Catherine Cookson dramas. Emmerdale and But Granada's attempts to

secure a foothold, ahead of changes to media ownership rules contained in the current Broadcasting Bill, fell foul of the Independent Television Commission which criticised its decision to "warehouse"

rent broadcasting legislation. Yorkshire is already closely involved with its neighbour,

whose marketing subsidiary, Laser, sells advertising air-time on its behalf. In addition, the two groups recently established a joint venture com-pany to sell programmes But MAI, the company

which owns Meridian and Anglia TV and which last week announced a £3 billion merger with United News, owner of the Daily Express. also has a 14 per cent share-holding in Yorkshire. The MAI chief, Lord Hollick, has Execu-

ing was organised by Pete Peters, the leader of Christian

identity, a movement which

his company is showing a profit of about £50 million on the Yorkshire shares it acquired from Financial Times owner. Pearson, less than a

year ago.
The swoop by Granada, coming so quickly after the MAL/United deal, intensified speculation that Carlton Communications — owner of Cen-tral and Carlton TV and the ers in ITV - will be forced to mount its own major acquisi-tion soon or risk being sidelined in the battle for pole

Executives at Yorkshire

Granada would want to airtime. strengthen the relationship Recent indications suggest that if Granada is willing to pay a high enough price, its pproach will not be seen as

unwelcome.

Mr Thomas has never ruled out the possibility of a merger with Granada and his company held merger talks with LWT when the London started Yorkshire TV. station was under takeover assault from Granada.

essed the friendly relationship between the two groups. Yorkshire has recently

shire's shares in a specially of mounting his own take-created financial vehicle in over, although he might now the chairman, Ward Thomas, order to avoid breaching cur-created financial vehicle in over, although he might now the chairman, Ward Thomas, was plunged more than two order to avoid breaching cur-reconsider, particularly as said it was "natural" that years ago by overselling of

The former chairman and chief executive, Clive Leach, resigned, but left the group with annual payments to the Government of about £65 mil-

returned at the end of 1993 to head the beleaguered group Charles Allen, chief operation which finally limped back ing officer of Gransda, into the black in the latter part of 1994. In the six months to last June, the company reported profits of £7.4

Buchanan aide forced out over racism charge

Jonathan Freedland in Washington

AT BUCHANAN'S surg-AT BUCHANAI Same ing presidential bid faced accusations of racism yesterday, when a top campaign official was forced to step down amid claims that he is a guru to white supremacist groups and the far-right militia movement in the

Larry Pratt, one of four cochairmen of the Buchanan campaign, said he was taking a "leave of absence" after a Washington-based pressure group linked him to the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations and other racist groups.
The Centre for Public Integrity claimed yesterday that Mr Pratt — head of Gun

Owners of America, the country's most radical gun rights group — had inspired the creation of armed militias, the have spawned last year's bomb in Oklahoma City. Mr Buchanan moved

swiftly to limit damage and effectively suspended Mr Pratt from duty. Within hours, Bay Buchanan, the candidate's campaign man-ager and sister, had tele-phoned Mr Pratt and "they

gress on Racial Equality and a supporter of Jews for the Preservation of Firearms Ownership. He added that 20 per cent of his staff was made up of Jews and blacks. He claimed that he was victim of a media conspiracy

outlined in a 1990 book. Armed People Victorious. Another damaging claim is that Gun Owners of America made donations to CAUSE, a rightwing legal group whose name is an acronym of the possibly driven by the Clinton administration, in an atlast remaining "pure" white countries: Canada, Australia, tempt to halt Mr Buchanan's flourishing presidential bid.

Central to the case against | the United Kingdom, South | alition conference: "Our cul-Mr Pratt is his appearance on Africa and Europe. a 1992 platform alongside Louis Bream, leader of the Ku Mr Buchanan has faced cri

tism that his America First Klux Klan, and Richard Butmessage slides dangerously ler, the self-styled "führer" of close to a doctrine of nativism the Aryan Nations. The meeterated his opposition to all

right but a responsibility to remains. Mr Buchanan, a fercarry arms. He also detailed vent campaigner against imhis model for citizen militias, migration, once wrote that the main problem with illegal entrants is "that they are not English-speaking white people". Americans had to de-cide, he wrote, "whether the United States of the 21st cen-

tury will remain a white He once told a Christian Co-

ture is superior because our religion is Christianity and that is the truth that makes men free." Jewish groups say they fear his frequent stump references to the "cultural elite" and "Wall Street bankforms of racism, claiming su-premacists had no place in coded attacks on Jews.

ing advocate of abortion rights, writes Mark Tran in New York. Mr Forbes, who is dropping

in the polls, needs a strong stand in New Hampshire next week. This week he campaigned with William Bennett, who was President and a champion of traditions

Planned Parenthood emerged in a detailed breakdown of its in the Chronicle of Philanthropy, a Washington publi-cation. The foundation gave \$15,200 (£10.000) to Planned Parenthood over five years out of a total of \$9 million disdecided it was best for Larry to take a leave of absence".

Mr Buchanan said.

Mr Pratt denied the charges yesterday, saying he was a longtime member of the Congress on Racial Ratiality and selected it was best for Larry to take a leave of absence".

At that gathering and several others, Mr Pratt especially against, "he said.

But the discomfort among to black and Jewish groups of the million aire publisher, faced further erosion of support from the Republican right yesterday as it emerged that his corporate foundation donated money to plant a dual of seminion disbursed to hundreds of chark-ing and it's the Republican right yesterday as it emerged that his corporate foundation donated money to plant a dual of seminion disbursed to hundreds of chark-ing and it's the Republican right yesterday as it emerged that his corporate foundation donated money to plant a dual of seminion disbursed to hundreds of chark-ing and it's the Republican right yesterday as it emerged that his corporate foundation donated money to plant a dual of seminion disbursed to hundreds of chark-ing and it's the Republican right yesterday as it emerged that his corporate foundation donated money to plant a dual of seminion disbursed to hundreds of chark-ing and it's the Republican right yesterday as it emerged that his corporate foundation donated money to plant a dual of seminion disbursed to hundreds of chark-ing and it's the Republican right yesterday as it emerged that his corporate foundation donated money to plant a dual of seminion disbursed to hundreds of chark-ing and it's the Republican right yesterday as it emerged that his corporate foundation donated money to plant a dual of seminion disbursed to hundreds of chark-ing and it's the Republican right yesterday as it emerged that his corporate foundation donated for a but a dual of seminion disbursed to hundreds of chark-ing and it's the records of th that perform abortions as part of their services, which include counselling and

On the campaign trail, Mr Forbes has fudged the issue, saying he opposes abortion but does not support immediate passage of a constitutional amendment banning it.

'Flexible' Dole, page 8

'A challenge to our sense of morality'

devoted to the big arias, no-tably to Theramenes' great Greek-style speech, in which the horrendous death of Hipther, and you soon find that polytus is recounted; in which the cosmic consequences of Phaedra's monstrous passion are made manifest. Here Gerard McSorley's intense, musical rendering of the lines hold us in mesmerised thrall.

Here we glimpsed what
could have been done if the director had made even fewer concessions to naturalism and been more fully convinced that Racine's language is met-aphor and action, control and chaos, elegance and desire. Li-totes, saying more with less, is tional and legal issues were raised". But he is a sincere

the rhetorical figure of French neo-classicism: the musical score and the stark, almost ab-stract, design incarnated this beautifully, although I got little sense of the *huis clos* emanded by Racine and Mahon. The permanent, beau-tiful, azure backdrop promised a holiday in Crete rather than a raging inferno of opressive, destructive, desire. But this was an absorbing evening's theatre — devotees of the bleak, spare intensity of Beckett; anyone wanting the

lion in 2024 compared to the

peak previously expected of 55.5 million in 2027.

the anticipated numbers of

children, now put 7 per cent lower by 2031 than had been

expected. This will have pro-

ound implications for plan

ning the schools system.

Latest figures put the population of England and Wales

The projections cut sharply

my translator or director. How does one realise, on a modern stage, a static, exqui-site, formal piece of chamber music — a cross between Bach true flavour of a great momen in European drama, should go Population forecast cut by

a million as families shrink

terday, the first for two years, suggest that the population of England and Wales will increase to a peak of 54.4 mil-

passed his assertion that the famous guidelines never did change. The persistence with which ministers cling to this, even after the judge's relentless and irrefutable exposure of its falsity, constitutes a perversion of language uncounted in recent politics. continued from page 1 they had: that they were actdegrave gave false descrip-tions of British arms policy towards Iraq and Iran in at ing on advice.
But penetrate a little furleast 27 letters, and on numer

the PII certificates weren't the routine affairs Ian Lang triumphantly depicted them as being yesterday. They were debatable and debated. Down one of the myriad corridors of power Scott explored. this, like everything in gov-ernment, turns out to be the stuff of tactical calculation. with public opinion and pub-lic interest being finely intertwined. The grappling be-tween Heseltine and Lyell exposed a process in which the Attorney completely failed, says Scott, "to recog nise that important constitu

and honourable man.
So, even more indubitably, is William Waldegrave. Wal-

ous occasions in Parliament itself. Scott says he knew, first hand, the facts that made his standard responses "un-true". Parliamentary answers failed to tell the truth about arms policy, and "this failure was deliberate". The collec-tive effect of Waldegrave's at-titude, and that of his colleagues above and below, was that they "failed to discharge the obligations imposed by the constitutional principle of ministerial accountability". But none of this, you under-stand, amounted to anything so sordid as a lie. The minis

equalled in recent politics. I think the public's ultimate verdict on Scott will revolve around that issue. Will people accept the fantastic convolu-tions with which bare-faced

what they went to such lengths to cover up was not in fact a change in their arms-to-Iraq policy? Or will voters, when they have the chance to inspect it at greater leisure, conclude that the world Scott exposes is not only rife with the corruptions of the arms trade but is defended by a poter's honour is intact, even though he systematically mis-led. He was telling the truth litical class who exhibit an atrocious, suave incredulity ful? It's a test of publi that anyone should doubt that ity in the truest sense

a hanging verdict was likely to seem like proof of innocence. And the judge, in his very judiciousness, obliged. The political squealing about his methods didn't deflect him from reaching clear and sometimes severe conclusions about the facts as he found them. But he did constrain himself. At bottom, he withholds an opinion about the proprieties of a world to which he doesn't belong.

The report, in other words is not a verdict but a chal-lenge. Here are the facts, do we consider them disgrace-ful? It's a test of public moral-

ENDED ENGINEE ASSESSION A LIBRARY GO STARTER COLLECTION COMPOSER OF THE MONTH: MASSAUT EXCLUSIVE NEW RELEASE DAME JANET BAKER CD This historic 1971 Aldeburgh recital with Raymond Leppard is ONLY available

No sizzle among the pigs, so bacon prices are on the up and up

Larry Elliott

BACON prices in super-markets are soaring after last summer's heatwave put pigs off sex and caused a dearth of pig-lets, the Government said

yesterday. Despite theories that strong Japanese demand con had gone up by 4p a and pig rustlers might be pound since November. behind the 9 per cent increase over the past year, inflation experts at the Central Statistical Office have come up with a more basic reason — It was sim-

ply too hot to trot. According to officials. sows and boars in farms across the country cried off with a collective headache with a collective headache their exports to the Far as temperatures soared East, where the Japanese

August last year. Without a thick cost to protect them, pigs lost their friskiness after searching in vain for some nice cool mud to protect them from sanburn.

"The hot weather reduced pigs' sexual appetite, leading to fewer piglets and an increase in prices", one official said, adding that home-killed ba-

Farmers had been cutting back on their herds of pigs before last summer, adding to the pressure on supplies even before the latest spate of rustling. The sex strike by swine at

home has been exacerbated by the decision of Danish producers to divert more of

for a rasher. However, the CSO added that in the high street the overall inflation scale artificial inseminarate dipped from 3.2 per cent to 2.9 per cent last month.
Officials said beef prices had remained far steadier

than those for pork. This,

tion among cattle. Unlike pigs, cows do not have the chance to say no.

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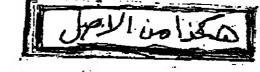
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Wartime allies back Prague against Bonn

President promises to pay backlog of wages ● Party rallies behind stodgy Zyuganov

Fiery Yeltsin goes for broke

lan Traynor in Bonn

IHE second world war allies have waded into an ugly row between Ger-y and the Czech republic, many and the Czech republic, backing the Czech expulsion of up to 3 million ethnic Germans at the end of the war and implicitly warning Bonn not to query the post-war

A statement by the US state department, echoed by Russia and Britain, stressed that the Czech "transfer" of the Sude ten Germans in 1945-6 was endorsed by the allies at the Potsdam conference of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union outside Berlin

Bonn and Prague are embroiled in a dispute about war reparations and compensafor the expelled Germans. Bonn argues that the conference decisions did not condone the deportations.

The US statement frowned on that position, saying: "The conference conclusions ... are historical fact and the United States is confident that no country wishes to call

them into question."
The row between the central European neighbours has plunged the German-Czech relationship to its lowest point since the overthrow of communism in 1989.

A long-running attempt to draft a joint declaration set-tling past differences and healing old wounds collapsed in deadlock and mutual recrimination last month.

Prague is jubilant and relieved that the allies have spoken out in its favour, but Bonn seems reluctant to accept their condoning what it sees as gross injustice.

justice that cannot be justi-

the German foreign minister,

Klaus Kinkel, said. The Sudeten Germans lived in Prague and what was western Czechoslovakia for centuries until 1945-6, when they were dispossessed and expelled in revenge for the Nazi occupation and partition of the country from 1938 on.

Thousands of Germans were killed during the deportations, though the precise number is still hotly contested by both sides.

The Potsdam conference li lions of ethnic Germans from eastern Europe as part of the settlement which, for example, moved Poland's western border 200 miles west. Bonn's row with Prague is

the only important issue out-standing from the war in central Europe. The descendents of the Sudeten Germans form a powerful rightwing lobby in Bavaria and its ruling Christian Social Union, the coalition partner of Chancellor Helmut Kohl

Germany refuses to agree to pay compensation to Czech victims of the Nazis until Prague rescinds the legal basis for the expulsions: the Potsdam accords and the decrees issued by then Prestdent Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia. The Czechs are afraid that such a move would trigger a torrent of property claims from the families of those expelled.

The Kohl government pol-

icy has been attacked by liberal and leftwing circles in Germany, and is feeding Czech suspicions of Germany. Mr Kohl's critics argue that the two issues — the Sudeten Germans and reparations

should be treated separately, while the Czech republic, a

feels bullied by Germany, a wealthy power of 80 million. rassment continued when

David Hearst

RESIDENT Boris day of populist would stand for a second term as president.

He promised to pay the en-tire national backlog of unpaid wages next month amounting to about £1.8 billion, or about a third of the loan Russia hopes to receive shortly from the International Monetary Fund. After a neutral welcome in

his home town, Mr Yeltsin went for broke. The Communist leader, Gennady Zyu-ganov, will be left with a huge budget deficit if his bid for the presidency succeeds.

Mr Yeltsin bossted in an unscripted aside: "I physically have the cash to do

this." And he went on to ex-plain that he would break nto Russia's £8.5 billion fund of hard currency and gold reserves. The president said with a smile: "I have tied a noose around my neck. I have nowhere to hide." The announcement is cer-

tain to worry the IMF, whose director, Michel Camdessus, to finish negotiations for a £5.8 billion loan. But yester day Mr Yeltsin was playing to a domestic audience, posing at times as a democrat who alone can guarantee contin ued elections and freedom of speech, and at times as a tubthumping nationalist

Speaking earlier yesterday to Afghan veterans, Mr Yelt-sin attacked Turkey as a threat to Russia's southern borders. He said: "The Turks have always threatened us and right now they are helping the Chechens."

The international embar

Russia's minister of atomic energy, Victor Mikhailov, promised an attack on the Czech Republic if it joined Nato. In comments to repor-ters outside the auditorium where Mr Yeltsin was speak-ing, Mr Mikhailov said: "The plan to expand Nato means that one day in the Czech Republic there will be tactical nuclear weapons. For me,



when we will have to destroy At the podium Mr Yeltsin. hoarse from a day of walk-abouts, was in swashbuckling mood. He boasted that he had

pressurised President Clinton, Chancellor Kohl, and other Western leaders to ensure Russia received the IMF

Mr Yeltsin went on to insult his host, the Sverdlovsk regional governor Eduard Rossell. He ordered him to sack a company director who

was paying himself 30 million | crossroads and could still | ting himself on a new path of roubles a year. At one point, | slide back into its communist | partial industrial protection- mr Rossell was seen holding | past. "We will do everything | ism, he has borrowed heavily his head in his hands.

The president admitted he clared it was his patriotic duty to continue leading the country. "In spite of insistent calls for me to go with dignity, my departure ... would be an irresponsible and irrep-arably mistaken step . . . I am convinced that I can lead this country out of confusion,

anxiety and uncertainty."

He said Russia was at a

possible so that we Russians and our country will not per-ish under the old red wheel." He attacked the democrats as too inexperienced for government and claimed to represent the centre ground. "I

price. I am for a correctiv course, but not a step Mr Yeltsin admitted that there had been a huge loss of face like that you industrial production. In set-work for the KGB."

am for reforms, but not at any

from the Communist Party' election programme. Earlier the president toured

the metro, a project he started when he ran the city as its Communist first secretary. A woman harangued his body guard, General Alexander Korzhakov, complaining about her pension. Lidva Tit kova aged 63, said: "I don't know who you are, but with a face like that you can only

Mr Korzhakov offered to take her to meet Mr Yeltsin. who was standing yards away. Mrs Titkova refused. "No, no. I only want to meet Mr Lebed" — the general who will be one of Mr Yeltsin's

 Mr Yeltsin said criminal proceedings had opened against the former acting rosecutor-general Alexei Ryushenko and others. This could herald a pre-election hunt for scapegoats to appease popular anger at official corruption.

EU inquiry into 'corrupt Briton' allegations

harge

Julie Wolf in Brussels and Stephen Bates in Strasbourg

promised a swift investi-gation yesterday into corruption allegations against one of its most senior British

The commission president, Jacques Santer, was 'very keen to clarify these kind of issues as soon as possible" a tary, Malcolm Rifkind, Mr spokesman said. The complaints concern Michael Emerson, former European

Union ambassador to Russia. Mr Emerson will continue as head of the Commission's foreign policy think tank dur-ing the investigation, according to the spokesman. He returned from Moscow at the end of last year after a five-

The allegations came from outside the commission, the spokesman said. But he originated from European, American or Russian sources.

Commission sources sympathetic to Mr Emerson spec-ulated that the charges could stem from Russian criminal interests angry at the way EU aid for Russia has been paid. "It looks like a Russian stitchup," said one source, pointing out that the allegations emerged only after Mr Emer-

son's ambassadorship.
According to a Belgian press report, Mr Emerson has been accused of benefiting financially during his time in Moscow and entering into commercial operations with Russian businessmen. The EU representative to Russia some of the £150 million a year spent under the Tacis technical assistance programme for the former Soviet Union.

Mr Emerson, a French-born but Oxford and Harvard edu-cated economist, joined the commission in 1973 and

programme to get round the delays in securing approval for projects from Moscow. This enabled him to authorise spending sums up to 20,000 ecu (about £16,000) directly, without reference to Brussels. | EU."

Greece attacks Rifkind for in Turkish row

Helena Smith in Athens

THE Greek foreign minisfor failing actively to sup-port Athens in its confrontation with Turkey over an uninhabited islet in the

Speaking days before a scheduled visit to Greece by Britain's Foreign Secredoes not want Europe'

Since the territorial confrontation erupted last month, the Greek govern ment has been enraged by what it sees as London's refusal to side with Athens. As a European Union frontier state, Greece has argued that the EU has a duty

RODOBNACTUE But Mr Rifkind, after lunching on Wednesday with the visiting Turkish foreign minister, Deniz Baykal, rejected the notion that the EU should take a stance on territorial dis-- even if member

states were involved. By contrest, the European Parliament yesterday strongly backed Athens in the ownership row over the islet — known as Imia in Greece and Kardak in

Turkey.
"I can't imagine that Mr Rifkind is a fanatical enemy of Greece and a fahatical supporter of Tur-key. That would be mad-ness," Mr Pangalos said. He added: "His position

against EU borders is not because he wants to back Turkish interests. It is the standard position of the United Kingdom. Britain does not want Europe. It wants a big market where it can maximise its own

Britain's "idiosyncratic views", Mr Pangalos said, worked with Roy Jenkins in had become a serious the late 1970s. He later worked in the commission's He said: "It is systematieconomic directorate.

Mr Emerson is understood integration of Europe. Thus to have ploneered the Bistro it does not want external EU borders, a common foreign policy or a [common] defence policy. This is not a problem between Britain and Greece. It is a problem between Britain and the

staying neutral

plause when Gennady Zyuganov finished his speech. No one stood up to clap and even before he ended the Russian Communist Party delegates had started chatting among

Yet this was the man they chose unanimously yester-day as their candidate to st the Kremlin from Boris Yeltsin's grasp. For the Communists, it

was a downbeat start to a presidential election campaign which promises to be epic in distances travelled. money spent and mud flung. Mr Zyuganov ignored the

trained on him and read through his keynote address in a bass mono-tone, eyes lowered, with few soundbites or touches of humour to leaven his list of Russian woes and Communist remedies. To win the presidential

election is no prize for the winner, but a crown of thorns," he said in one of his few direct references to confident in him, writes **James Meek**

HERE were exactly 15 the coming struggle. He shement, sandwiches, inseconds of polite applause when Gennady
uganov finished his and said there was no question of mass nationalisation of legally privatised

enterpris But he offered a view of the Chechen conflict which scarcely differed from the

Soviet Union.

current Kremlin line, and repeated his pledge to annul the 1991 treaty which dissolved the the

There was a curious lack

For music there were Soviet anthems. For refre-

Communist chief chosen to fight for 'crown of thorns'

the unsuccessful 1991 coup against Mikhail Gorbachev, and for sale, books glorifying the communist past and future and con-

tottering former leaders of as the sole Communist candidate in June.

demning the Yeltsinite said Alexander Kruglikov.

know they need to widen "As far as charisma is their appeal, especially if they are to achieve the difconcerned, yes, maybe he's not a charismatic leader like the Yeltsin of 1991," ficult aim of beating the incumbent in the first round

present.
Oddly for a party which idolises Lenin and has warily embraced a Russian for 'that now. People are

'Over the years he has grown as a politician and a man. He really knows the pains and problems of the people'

nationalist version of social |

democracy, there were no images of Vladimir Illyich

to be seen, although Stalin

of excitement and total absence of razzmatazz at the former party ideological centre, where the Commu-nists were preparing them-selves for what one dele-gate, the former Soviet prime minister Nikolai Ryzhkov, described as "the most decisive moment in the history of our country since 1917".

fident of the man and the Communist message after

the party's triumph in De-cember's parliamentary

was well represented on the bookstands. Delegates seemed uncon-cerned at Mr Zyuganov's stodgy style. They are con-

Earlier doubts about the

"Over the years he has grown as a politician and a

man. He really knows the

pains and problems of

ople. "What's going on here is an ordinary working dis-cussion inside the party. When he meets the voters, I know he won't be using any

Many delegates backed the idea of Mr Zyuganov

running not as a pure Com-

of voting. The danger of schisms among the Communists themselves still haunted yesterday's party confer-ence. The radical Victor Anpilov, smiling amiably in the lobby, promised to step aside in favour of Mr

dence, the Communists

would carry on collecting signatures for his own nomination "just in case". The popular moderate Siberian Aman Tuleyev said he would not withdraw his candidacy until shortly before the elections.

Zyuganov, but said he

"Several candidates should campaign in order to gain the maximum number of voters," he said. "But in the decisive moment the candidates should have the courage to step down in favour of a single

French policeman jailed for News in brief shooting suspect dead

Alex Duval Smith in Paris

Gennady Zyuganov

may lack charisma

but his party is

APOLICE officer who Asparked riots in Paris when he shot dead a 17-yearold suspected cigarette thief was jailed yesterday for eight

The assizes court jury found Pascal Compain, aged 36, an officer in the red ligh Pigalle district, guilty of manlaughter. The prosecutor had

called for a 10-year sentence M'Bowole in a police inter-view in northern Paris of me".

pened in April 1993.

M'Bowole, suspected of stealing cigarettes from a tobacconist's, was shot in the head at close range in front of two witnesses. Four hours earlier Compain had ignore a judge's order to release the youth without charge.

Compain hardly spoke during the three-day trial, but two colleagues described him as lazy and undisciplined. Compain told the court he had not intended to fire his The killing of Makome revolver, "but my irritation with the youth got the better

has invited the Libyan leader. Muammar Gadafy, to visit South Africa, the Libyan news agency Jana said yesterday. It said Colonel Gadafy thanked Mr Mandela for the invitation which he ac-

Gadafy invited

President Nelson Mandela

by Mandela

cepted. — Reuter. Meanwhile, President Mandela has warned the ANC parliamentary caucus not to interfere in the language rights of the Afrikaners after threats to make English the sole language in the military, writes David Beresford in

Sri Lanka arrests

Sri Lankan authorities investigating the killing of 24 Tamil civilians have taken some military personnel into custody on suspicion of being involved, the defence minis-try said. — Reuter.

China's handicap

China could not carry out a successful military invasion of Taiwan because it lacks sealift capability to support such an attack across the Tai- Vicente Mayoral, aged 61, and wan Strait, the Pentagon's top his son Rodolfo, aged 25, two

military officer, General John | former suspects in the 23-{(£133 million), was de-Shalikashvili, said yesterday. But he also stressed that the United States had no indica-tion that China intended to

mount an attack. - Reuter. **Blast victims**

Up to 60 people were killed and many more injured by an ammunition dump blast in the presidential palace in Kabul yesterday, an Afghan government spokesman said. The explosion was triggered by a fire in a faulty appliance that spread to the nearby ammunition dump. — Reuter.

Seoul manoeuvres South Korea began a military exercise yesterday around the tiny Tokdo islands over which it is locked in a territorial dispute with Japan, a defence ministry spokesman said. — Reuter.

Summit talks

A US-requested summit of Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian presidents in Rome is now due to start tomorrow and not today as first sched-uled, the Italian foreign ministry said. - Reuter.

Ex-suspects fiee

month-old assassination of the Mexican presidential candidate, Luis Donaldo Colosio, have fled Mexico to seek political asylum in the US, writes Christopher Reed in Los Angeles. This brings the total of

eight Blast injuries

The explosion of a Chinese ocket seconds after its launch in Sichuan province caused casualties on the nounced yesterday that New ground, according to a Chie official. The satellite's payload, an Intelsat communications satellite worth an estimated \$200 million was a step down the road to republicanism.— Reuter.

stroyed. - Reuter Confidence vote Poland's parliament passed a

cabinet of the prime minister. Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz. yesterday, setting the seal on a reshuffle forced by his prerefugees from the case to decessor's resignation over spy allegations. - Reuter.

Honouring change The prime minister of New Zealand, Jim Bolger, an-Zealand would largely abandon its British-based honours system, but denied the move





So many people are using drugs negatively, to get as far away from the horror and duliness of mainstream life as possible, rather than positively, as life enhancers. That's the real crime, the real issue: that so many people feel that straight life in this society has so little to offer them.

Irvine Welsh Review page 4 A near-total boycott, violence and irregularities rob the Zia government of legitimacy, writes Suzanne Goldenberg in Dhaka

Bangladeshis stay away from polls

Khaleda Zia's govday, observing a near-total in which none of the main opposition parties took part. At the close of polls hundreds of men gathered in the old city's Lalbagh quarter, abbing their thumbs in the air to show that they were free of the indelible blue ink used to mark voters. But despite their momen-

tary jubilation they held out little hope that the gov-ernment would heed their

ANGLADESHI voters turned their sands of us voted," said Mohacks on Begum hammed Akhtar Hussain, a worker at a plastic factory.

They will be busy all night long stamping ballot papers."

The opposition had billed the polls as a farce, demanding a neutral, caretaker government to oversee the elec-

more the proportions of a tragedy in this young and fragile democracy.
The government said six in little hope that the government would heed their around the country, and voting sage.

"Tomorrow they will say than 300 polling stations. But desh Nationalist Party.

widespread violence, and

public despair that accompa-

nied them have assumed

Ruling party 'no longer exists on the soil after this verdict' people into voting queues whenever reporters appeared worker. He and three other men way

other reports put the death toll at 14, with many more

nearly 300,000 troops and se-curity men, scores of bomb plasts were reported

The government insisted that it had triumphed over what it called an opposition campaign of voter intimida-tion. "We are not unhappy to say that today people have cast their votes," said Badruddoza Chowdhury, a for-mer deputy parliamentary leader of the ruling Bangla-

"They have gone in quite good numbers and if the three party opposition alliances had not been terrorising people then the turnout would have been even

But yesterday's exercise removes whatever legitimacy the government once claimed With turnout reduced to 5 per cent at some polling stations, and voting cancelled in some rural areas amid hijacked ballot boxes and violence, Mrs Zia now lacks a mandate to

Sheikh Hasina Wajed, the

firebrand opposition leader who is the prime minister's deadliest foe, said 95 per cent of voters had heeded the boycott call of her Awami League and the other opposition

"The BNP no longer exist on the soil of Banglades after this verdict of the people," she told reporters. She called on Mrs Zia to negotiate with the opposition hand the civil administration for a way out of the crisis. On and armed forces over to the

the eve of the elections, she president. She said her fol-had promised talks on fresh lowers would offer "whole-hearted support and co-operation" to President Abdur Rahman Biswas until he could name a supreme court

> Shops were shuttered yes terday, and streets normally cluttered by cycle rickshaws were so clear that children played cricket in them. Groups of opposition supporters armed with lengths of wood gathered in a few areas

and roamed freely around polling stations. There were no opposition representatives at any of the stations visited by this reporter, and most of the poll officers said they did not know the names of opposi-

Although polling stations appeared deserted at all bours of the day, presiding officers in Lalbagh and other areas of the capital claimed an im-probable 50 per cent turnout. These claims were dismissed by the people outside. "We have observed that not even 1 per cent of people have cast their votes," said Mohammed

by polling officials who claimed they had already voted. "They said you go, your vote has already been

Even those who did vote were a bit sheepish. "You have been watching, you know what this is really like," said one woman.

In the northern suburb of Uttars only 10 women had turned up by mid-morning. "If it were normal times, we would have got 200 votes," the presiding officer, Mohammed Kabil Mia, said. "But these

'Flexible' Dole shifts right

O THE alarm of Wall Street and despite being 10 points ahead of his Republican presidential rivals in the opinion polls yes erday. Senator Bob Dole is echoing the economic popu-lism of Pat Buchanan and promising to review the con-troversial North American Free Trade treaty with

"Corporate profits are setting records and so are corpo-rate layoffs," he told the New Hampshire state legislature. "The bond market finished a spectacular year. But the real average hourly wage is 5 per cent lower than it was a de-

'NAFTA hasn't worked as we thought it would. We're going to have to take another look at that, what it's done to American jobs," he said.

Arguing that widening in-

ome divisions would have rim social consequences, Mr Dole was claiming some of the ideological ground occupied by Mr Buchanan, currently nis closest rival.

day that Mr Dole's shift was "one more sign that we have won the war — the Republican party is becoming the Buchananite party".

It is also a sign of Mr Dole's ervousness. Having lost the freemarketeers to Steve Forbes and vying with Lamar Alexander for the moderate dare not leave conservatism Mr Buchanan, the multi-miland populism all to Mr lionaire publisher Steve

His campaign manager. Scott Reed, said: "Buchanan may think he can tie up all the conservatives while we fight with Steve Forbes and Lamar Alexander for the rest of the vote, but he's wrong,

Bob Dole has been fighting for conservative values all his life. Dole wants the Republican party to represent Main Stret, not Wall Street."

As a result. Mr Dole has startled his party's powerful

politically flexible, last year telling a New Hampshire audience: "Til be Ronald Reagan if that's what you want." But for the moment his need to challenge Mr Buchanan is

New Hampshire's leading newspaper, the conservative Manchester Union-Leader, ran a front-page editorial yesterday endorsing Mr Buchanan as "an economic national-Street than to Wall Street or the Washington Beltway".

Mr Dole to appeal to the blue-collar and protectionist vote: New Hampshire's electoral rules allow Independents and even registered Democrats to switch allegiance temporarily and vote in the Republican primary. Mr Buchanan's opposition to Nafta and Gatt has won many supporters among blue-collar Democrats and

Mr Dole launched a cam-paign of advertisements yes-tarday condemning Mr Buchanan as too extreme. They cited one of Mr Buchanan's twice weekly political columns, in which he said that Japan, Taiwan and South Korea should be allowed nuselves. Another column said: Women are simply not endowed by nature with a single-minded ambition and the will to succeed."

While Mr Dole was launchthe advertising strategy which backfired on him in the Iowa caucus.

"I think I spent too much time discussing my opponents and their records. I'm going to concentrate on getting my own message across. According to opinion poll results published yesterday by the Boston Globs, Mr Dole's public opinion rating was steady at 27 per cent, Mr Buchanan was at 17 per cent, business constituency. The Mr Forbes was at 16 per cent, well-known Wall Street guru and Lamar Alexander was at Peter Lynch said: "It's 12 per cent.

Reconstruction effort . . . Rescuers carry out a man injured when a building in central Beirut collapsed yesterday after workers started to destroy its foundations to drive out squatters. At least two died, eight were hurt and up to 15 were believed to be buried in rubble. The government-sponsored Solidere firm is rebuilding the area PHOTOGRAPH: ALI MOHAMED

Palestinians beat 'rude' pharmacist

In the wake of an Amnesty rebuke, Derek Brown reports on police abuses

N THE past seven days Mousa Alloush has been arrested, accused of selling drugs illegally, beaten ap, freed, re-arrested, ocked up in a cell, and

released again. Yesterday, sounding be-mused, he said that offi-cials of the self-rule Palestinian Authority had apologised for his ordeal, and had agreed to punish the police officer who beat him, one Abu Jaffar. Not 24 hours before, Abu

Jaffar had smilingly de-clared that there was not a shred of truth in the accusation of beating. He produced a supermarket crate full of the old and allegedly dangerous goods which Mr Alloush had been selling. Most of them appeared to be baby-food.

The amiable police chief in Ramallah, Hassan Asheikh, also denied the beating allegation, and produced Mr Alloush's written assurance that he would never again supply old or dangerous goods. The pharmacist's "crime", according to Colo-

nel Asheikh, was to supply medicines without a doctor's prescription. That Palestine must be a criminal, for none ever asks for a In another office a few

yards away a police major, Abdel Fatah, obligingly confirmed the beating, and said it was the usual way of dealing with prisoners who were not "polite".

"He was very impolite with us. He kept saying impolite things. We told him to be quiet, and then we attacked him," said Major Fatah, politely. A few minutes later, a

double U-turn: "We didn't hit him. We didn't hurt him. He says we did that to him. Well, there is a big difference between torture, and just beating. We didn't use any torture. He made us angry and we beat him. He started to scream at us: I will show you'. He used

A semi-trained Palestinhas burgeoned in numbers and in influence. About 26,000 of them, both in and body is sure. Nobody ever out of uniform, strut is.

around the West Bank towns and in the Gaza Strip. Many are well-be-haved; some are, quite sim-

ply, thugs.

At least three men have died in custody in dubious circumstances in the new Palestine. Arbitrary arrests have become commonplace. The Palestinian press has mostly ignored the abuse. But one daily, An Nahar, carried a story about the treatment of Mr Alloush who, besides being a phar-

macist in the university town of Bir Zeit, is a

respected author, translator, and folklorist. Police say Mr Alloush paid An Na-har to print the story. Other, more serious. abuses have gone entirely unreported. Last month two Bethlehem business-men were abducted by lo-cally based police, taken to a police station out of town,

and tortured.
One of them, Victor Atalla, described to the Guardian how eight police-men held him down while

They used sticks, and three broke. They used a whip

Craftsn

others beat and punched him. The soles of his feet were beaten.

and electrical cable'

three of them broke. Then they used a whip and a went on for an hour or maybe an hour and a half." said Mr Atalla.

Throughout this ordeal : senior officer demanded that Mr Atalla sign a statement saying he had forged a paper vital in a land regis-try case. The officer was apparently working for one of the parties to the dispute. "This is a private case. They were using the name of the Authority

only, said Mr Atalla. Mr Atalla' friend Khalil Hazboun got similar treat-ment in another room. His feet were so badly beaten that most of his toenails were broken. He was burned on the legs with

cigarettes.
The mayor of Bethlehem,
Elias Freij, has taken up
their case. One of the offiian force, for the most part cers involved has been sus-soldiers rather than police, pended, Mr Atalla believes, and another may be under arrest in Jericho. But no-

India links nuclear test ban to big power disarmament

ian Black Diplomatic Editor

BROSPECTS for speedy progress on signing a global nuclear test ban treaty suffered a serious blow yes-terday when India insisted it would stand by its demand for parallel talks on disarmament by the five nuclear powers. India's ambassador to the

Geneva conference, Arundhati Ghose, said the refusal of other countries to agree on a firm target for disarmament "cannot but affect our position" in bargaining on a comprehensive test ban treaty CTBT).

The Geneva talks, which began last month, must end by the summer if a treaty is to be presented to the next ses-sion of the United Nations General Assembly in October. Diplomats fear that if it is not signed this year the opportu-nity may be lost forever.

Agreement between the United States, Britain and France on replacing nuclear tests with laboratory and computer simulation has

Russia is expected to follow suit. But the position of it directly to a CTBT.

China, which has a less advanced nuclear programme, and is still holding out for the right to conduct "peaceful nu-clear explosions," is unclear. None of the five nuclear powers, however, is prepared to link a test ban treaty for-mally to wider disarmament.

India's stand is crucial. As capable of producing nuclear weapons at short notice (along with Pakistan and Is-rael), it resents the monopoly ers and wants to end it. preparing to conduct its own test and using the Geneva

talks as a bargaining chip to help secure advanced nuclear technology from the US. Yesterday's rhetoric poses a real problem for the conference: Mrs Ghose accused In-dia's Western critics of using in which "those who want to eliminate nuclear weapons

are seen as a threat to Twenty-one of the 38 participating countries have called for talks aimed at a global pact to eliminate nuclear weapons. But none has linked

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Other worlds

David Hirst

FIRTUALLY every Arab regime that counts has rallied to Sheikh Issa bin Salman al-Khalifa. The ruler since 1961 of the tiny island state of Bahrain is in trouble again.

The Khalifas are orthodox Sunni Muslims. Most of their subjects are Shi'ites, and poorer than the Sumis. Of late, they have been dispro-portionately unemployed. They cannot serve in the

They are the natural breeding ground for opposition. They tend to look for support to Shi'ite Iran, which once laid claim to the island.

Shi'ite clergy, headed by Abd al-Amir al-Jamri, are leading the latest unrest, which erupted after the baning of political sermons in mosques in mid-January. Riot police fire tear-gas into Friday prayers. The opposi-tion mount routine demonstrations and have begun to burn cars and destroy electrical installations. They have put "percussion bombs" in

shopping malls and in the public lavatory of the Meridien Hotel. Three people were slightly injured in last week's blast in another hotel. arrested about 600 people — the opposition says 2,000 — including Sheikh Jamri and a leading Sunni lawyer, Ahmad Shemlan. They are accused of

Three young men "confessed" to being trained by "terrorist elements abroad". Iran is said to mastermind

nation is growing in other Bahrainis "sitting abroad for years for hurling stones at helped muster 25,000 signs has offered to send troops to state departments. | without national roots" con armoured cars. | tures for a petition demand | the island. One wonders how vey its orders to agents within. The state security court, officials say, will furnish irrefutable evidence of

> But even if such proof exists — which is doubtful — it will not alter the fact that the Khalifas' troubles are of their

own making.

It is an old story. Before
Britain withdrew from the
Gulf in 1971, a United Nations
mission found that the Babrainis rejected Iran's claim and wanted two things: independent Arab statehood and a democratic system. Sheikh Issa at first obliged with both. but, in 1975, he suspended the national assembly.

The people have agitated for its restoration ever since. The government says it has In the absence of constitu-trested about 600 people — tional rule, the Khalifas have become more arbitrary. repressive, greedy and rich.
Those exiles "without

inciting or participating in the government deported. The "arson and sabotage". secret police — run by a Briton, Ian Henderson, since 1966 — are unaccountable; they detain without warrant, been clearer than now. This and sometimes torture to phase began when Sheikh army or police, and discrimi- I this "foreign conspiracy". death. Children may be jailed Jamri, a former deputy, cording to the Saudi press, he free itself.

Iranian spectre clouds Bahrain's bid for freedom The Khalifas are a growing tribe whose 800 menfolk

> cle in on state and private enterprise. On this archipel ago of only 260 square miles, they have grabbed about half the land, including entire islands, for themselves, They built the opulent \$90 million (\$60 million) Meridien Hotel with a loan from

> Shi'ite clergy lead since mosques are the only opposition pulpits still left

social security funds which they have not repaid. Shi'ite unemployment is so high because princes earn "royal-ties" from Asians — often unnational roots" are dissidents | employed - whom they import as workers.

That the recurrent dissent stems from a broad-based ing a return to constitutional

In the 1970s, secular nationalists led the movement.

Today's leadership is by Shi'ite clergy not just because Islamicism — Iran-backed or not - is in fashion, but because mosques are the only opposition pulpits left.

Not one Arab government has questioned Bahrain's indictment of Iran as the sole cause of the growing unrest The Gulf Co-operation Council — six conservative monarchies led by Saudi Arabia formally endorses that view. After all, in 1975 the Saudi King Fahd insisted on the suspension of what he saw as Bahrain's dangerously radi-

cal new legislature. The Arab League does not mention Iran by name, speak-ing only of disturbances "alien to our Muslim and able to praise Kuwait, or to celebrate the reasons for its Hosni Mubarak of Egypt accoses Tehran of "starting a US should be pleased that,

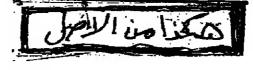
spread.

the island. One wonders how this squares with his own prized — if fraying — "demo-cratic experiment", or with his advocacy of a pluralist democracy to replace Saddam Hussein in Iraq. Yasser Arafat, the chair-

man of the Palestine Libera-tion Organisation, emulates King Hussein. It is ironic that, fresh from the electoral triumph that consecrated him "president" of his state-inthe-making, this former revolutionary should condemn another Arab people for simply

aspiring to elections.
It is not just the Arabs. The
United States, too, sees "Iranian elements" as the villains, One discordant note comes from the Gulf's only parliament in Kuwait, where eight deputies say Bahraints are

entitled to a parliament. It has become unfashion US-led "liberation". Yet the fire in Bahrain" that will thanks to its sacrifice, Kuwaiti MPs are still free to de-Even King Hussein of Jordan, who is courting the Gulf, has rallied to Sheikh Issa. Ac. US. obsessed by Iran, is less US, obsessed by Iran, is less



Humour and fragility

wood, who has died of cancer in New York at the age of 64, was an heiress who in youth escaped over the gar-den wall into a cultural world of high Bohemia from which she rarely looked back. To the initial outrage of her family, the Guinnesses, she

family, the Guinnesses, she married two of the outstanding creative figures of her time, the painter Lucian Freud and the American poet Robert Lowell. To both she was a huge stimulus, but she grew to cope with them as an

equal. Lowell cherished "your wandering silences and bright trouvailles, dolphins let loose to catch the flying fish", and wrote to her in his collection The Dolphin (1973):

Keep me in your shadow, gold grizzling your undyed

fragility.
In the last 20 years of her life, she built up a substantial name as a novelist, winning the David Higham fiction award for her first book, The Stepdaughter (1976), a Booker Granny Webster (1977), and provoking international ran-cour with her final, non-fic-tion work. The Last Of The Duchess (1995), a strongly sub-jective study of the bond be-tween the late Duchess of

protective Paris lawyer, Maitre Suzanne Blum. For some, the epitaph on her later years was the poet Philip Larkin's remark after the 1977 Booker dinner: "Caroline Blackwood was there, pissed as arseholes."

Windsor and the duche

For others, like the novelist Alice Thomas Ellis (see below), her hallmarks were courage, wit, acuteness and a great ability to attract love. 'I remember when the crocuses put out their little heads she said, 'Oh, those horrible little

said, "Her physical demean-our is so unforceful that the our is so imported that the force of her words — which can be lethally accurate — is made doubly strong. She has an artist's ability to sift through any bourgeois crap or social niceties and get straight to the point. There is a Bohemian exoticism about her. Nothing follows the rules.
Lunch may be a huge feast of
fresh oysters, or her fridge may
be completely out of food."

She was the daughter of Ba-sil Sheridan Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, fourth Marquess of Dufferin and Ava. Her mother Maureen, who survives her, is the granddaughter of the first Earl of Iveagh, founder of the Guinness dynasty. Her father was killed in Burma in 1945

when she was 13. Caroline grew up at Clande-boye, the family seat in County Down, and in Eng-land. She was educated in Essex and, for health reasons, Switzerland. As a debutante in 1949 she was a waman of no-table beauty, with flaxen hair and big, pale-violet eyes.

This was what Freud caught in his painting Girl in Bed.

1952, done a year before the consternation of their elopement and marriage. They were introduced by Ann Flem-ing, wife of the James Bond novelist, after Caroline began work in London for Hulton

Three of Freud's paintings of her are on loan to the Tate Gallery. She admired him till the end of her life but found him temperamentally "too dark" a man to have children with. After they divorced in 1958, she married the com-poser Israel Cifkowitz, who was 20 years older. They had three daughters.

Her meeting with Lowell led to divorce and remarriage in 1972, although she retained a friendship with Citkowitz. She

ADY Caroline Black baseball bat." A male friend Its underlying strength, how-wood, who has died said, "Her physical demean ever, is shown in his posm sequence named after herthe day.
I love you every minute of the

day; You gone unberruble.
Lowell died in a New York taxi in 1977, holding a Freud portrait of her. His encourage ment of her writing had already borne fruit. She said The Stepdaughter was prompted by seeing "colonies of abandoned women living in New York apartments in a state of impotent rage". The breadth and directness of her sympathies found forth-

right scope in 1965 with On The Perimeter, a study of why Greenham Common were being vilified as evil-smelling. odious reds. She wrote: "Greenham is one of the most significant things — if not the most significant — going on in England." Soldiers guarding the base "often hardly seemed like men, more like dangerous beasts besplattered with their own oaths and soiled by their own sordid fantasies."

It was a long way from Clan-deboye; and the route she had taken to get there was that of a nonconformist and an artist.

Alice Thomas Ellis writes: The lights have started going out. One which I shall miss most until the end of my own days is Caroline Blackwood. She was the person I relied on when things went wrong as they so frequently do. When she was away we used to have lengthy telephone conversa-tions of incomparable gloom which cheered us up enor-mously. She never attempted to sweeten matters by suggest ing we look on the bright side. I don't think she saw one.

There was about her an ex-



things precisely as they are. In the blurb to her first book For All That I Found There, I said that she looked at life with a kind of appalled wit: she was acutely perceptive, noticing and examining aspects of be-haviour that others might think unimportant yet which and Lowell had a son. Their traordinary quality which I revealed a person's whole marriage was clouded by his can only describe as a brilder character, and she wrote like depressions and her drinking. Itant darkness and she had an no one else. Even in the worst

me laugh. In one terrible year when she had lost a daughter idea of Darling You Shouldn't Have Gone To So Much Trouble, a cookery book for people in a hurry who were prepared to cheat shamelessiy. It caused great outrage among the pure and she always said it was her proudest achievement. There

and clever, oddly shy and capable of great love for her children and her friends. I wish I could telephone her now to discuss this matter of ber death. Once she called me Heraclitus and she is the only one who would understand.

Carolins Blackwood, writer, born July 16, 1931; died February **Leslie Lyall**

Man with a mission in China

the last survivor of a remarkable group of 200 missionaries sent more than six decades ago into China by what was then the China Inland Movement. And for many he was the voice of the church there during the years of silence from 1951 to the mid-seventies. He was a large presence at a time when the western Church had almost no contact with fellow believ-

Leslie was born in Chester. the son of a renowned evange-list who died when he was four. His mother's remarriage to a Hoylake headmaster gave Leslie and his sister a stable home and five step-brothers. After Emmanuel College Cambridge, where he read Modern Languages, Leslie was involved in the 1928 founding of the Inter Varsity — now the Universities and Colleges Christian — Fellowwork continued throughout

That same year he began the CIM's two-year training course and was regarded by some as having the sharpest intellect in the mission. He went on to teach in north-east China before being sent to Shanxi province where, 30 years earlier during the Boxer uprising, many mis-sionaries and Chinese Chris-tians had been killed, Leslie was impressed by the forgiveness shown by Christians who had seen members of

In 1936 he married Kathleen Sibelle Judd and they worked in Sharxi until 1940, while the Sino-Japanese war gath-ered momentum. Leslie tried to establish good relation-ships with the communist troops — and with the Japa-nese. He opposed attacks by the Japanese on the church and once argued them out of using a chapel as a brothel for Korean "comfort women". The Lyalls left Shanxi when their presence became an embar-rassment to local Christians.

They were then designated to Anshun in the south-west. where millions of refugees from the Japanese occupation were arriving. Whole universities were in transit — pro-fessors, librarles, students,

eslie Lyall, who has died aged 90, was almost offered hospitality to some. Leslie used the opportunity to explain the Christian mes-sage, until the family was evacuated back to Britain.

When the second world war ended the Lyalls returned to Beijing. Here again there was a ministry to students, refugees from the advancing communist army; Kathleen estab-lished a soup kitchen. Numbers of the students em-braced Christianity, which they sustained through the long years of suffering for the

In 1951 the Lvalls were expelled from China, along with all other western missionar-ies. In London they trained more than 300 new workers for the east Asian activities of the CIM - now OMF Interna-tional. Leslie addressed student meetings, preached in Africa, Asia and Europe and broadcast for the BBC. He wrote 10 books and his final work, his autobiography, showed the same skills that had characterised earlier

Red Sky At Night.
After his wife's death in 1988, Leslie Lyali moved into the retirement home of OMF International and spent his last days with several other survivors of the 200 who had sailed to China. He leaves a son and three daughters.

Ray Porter

November 14, 1905; died Febru-



Boat to China . . . Leslie Lyall

Sir George Trevelyan

Craftsman at work on the New Age

elyan, who has died aged 89, was a furniture maker, educa tionalist. visionary and dreamer who defined an apocalyptic Utopia. He became the elder statesman of Britain's late 20th century alternative society, a founding father of the New Age. George was too good to be true, a Cambridge intellectual who worked at the bench as a craftsman and a guru who remained the quintessential English gentleman. No one who ever met him could forget his sweetness, vigour, or his penetrat

ing gaze. He was a holistic optimist, believing in the spiritual awakening that awaits us all. He would argue that civilisation had reached such a high pitch of chaos and tumult things could only get better. He envisaged a Sodom and Gomorrah, with the world pushed to the point of a grand renunciation of "the lust for power, profit and posses-sions". We only had to listen and we would begin to hear our inner harmonies again. The Wrekin Trust, which he established in 1971, was a non-denominational organi-sation dedicated to teaching the intrinsic spiritual nature of humanity and the universe. In 1982 Trevelyan was a winner of the "alternative Nobel Prize". The Right Livelihood Prize had been invented by a Swedish stamp dealer, Jacob Von Yxkull, and green values through the

George came from the heart of intellectual Cambridge. He was born into the much intermarried clans of Arnolds Huxleys, Wedgwoods, Darwins and Trevelyans. His father, Sir Charles Philips Trevelyan, was a politician, President of the Board of Education in the Labour govern-ments of the 1920s. One uncle was the poet Bob Trevelyan and the other the famous his

land who met all three brothers in succession at a party in London. "Are the Trevelvans a sect. like the Wesleyans?" she asked.

George, as fourth baronet, was in line to inherit Wallington, the family mansion in Northumberland with its magnificent woodlands, lakes and decorations by John Ruskin and William Bell Scott. But because of his socialist convictions — and perhaps because of his father's suspitorian George Macaulay Tre-velyan. There's a story of a tion channels with the spirits





it was awarded to those who

National Trust. After Cambridge George conceived a "passionate long-ing" to work with his hands. He apprenticed himself to Peter Waals, the Dutch cabi net maker who had been Ernest Gimson's right hand

man. Gimson had been a pro-tege and friend of William Morris. The News From Nowhere element in Trevelyan's philosophy of craftsmanship and education dates from those years in Waals's work-shops at Chalford in the Cotswolds. Machines were not banned, but George chose not to use them. He loved "handling and thumping the great mortise chisels" himself: I first met George at an exhibition at Cheltenham Mu-seum. He seemed in his

element amongst all that fig-ured walnut and immaculately detailed English oak As a rebel — and he was a real rebel — he was subtle. His style of dress was not al ternative. He wore good suits and ties. He looked more like an aged cricket blue or retired bishop, upright and weather beaten, with that thatch of silver hair. After he left Chalford his

designs were made by other craftsmen, some by his con-temporary Owen Scruby, some by Ernest Smith, once Waals's foreman, now working in his own small workshop in the garden. Smith suddenly went blind. George loved to relate how, even when sightless, Smith made

vourself absorbed into a

selective group with certain

with its traditional panelling and champfering. He told it like a medieval folk tale — the skilled craffsman's beroic defiance of fate.

From the early 1930s he worked in education. He studied the FM Alexander reeducation method, and taught at Gordonstoun at the time Kurt Hahn was headmaster and Prince Philip was a pupil. Gordonstoun's rugged Ger-manic emotionalism suited him. His ideas effervesced into a heady mix. Thomas Malory met Rabindranath John Ruskin con-Tagore. John Ruskin co verged on Rudolph Steiner. For 24 years George was warden of Attingham Park, the Shropshire College of Further Education. Here he infiltrated into the curriculum such subjects as the expanent has secretarization for mis quest for the grail in our time. In the questing 1960s his stu-dents became increasingly receptive to the occult. He became a national figure, the so-

Aquarian Age. He invented "the Network". encouraging the setting up of small energy centres, draw-ing strength from one another. The Network included communes, alternative technology centres, organic farm-ing centres, organisations for spiritual research. In his own

minton in Gloucestershire Where he spent his final years — George was host to saints and cranks, magicians, jour-nalists, and inevitably the magic-mushroom children.

George became a great sage, but he retained his curiosity. He was never on his dignity never self-absorbed. He still used the slang of his boyhood: "Oh dash it!". He would spit through his teeth. I loved his crazy generosity. When Frances Spalding was researching her biography of Roger Fry she wrote to ask if she could come and look at his early Fry painting of a view of the Seine. He replied, "Do come, and do please take the painting home with you." The canvas was so large that she had to leave the

He believed implicitly in ingels. References to the angels dropped into his conver sation, as they did in William Blake's. It is nice to think that George is now reunited with called hippies' champion. In 1977 he published his first book, a defiantly unCambridge espousal of holistic values, A Vision Of The strange, entrancing creature with his long gnarled crafts man's fingers and loping

stride. Fiona MacCarthy

Sir George Lowthian Trevelyan dealgner and visionary, born No-vember 5, 1906; died February 7, energy centre — the con*********************

Patti Andrews, singer, 76; lain Banks, novelist, 42; Jer-emy Bullock, actor, 51; Robin Clark, FRS, professor of chemistry, University College, London, 61; David Griffiths painter, 57; Peter Hobday broadcaster, 59; Ian Lavender, actor, 50; John McEnroe, tennis player, 37; Peter Porter, poet. 67; John Schlesinger, film director, 70; Sir James Swaffield, former director-gen eral, GLC, 72.

Another Day *******************

FEBRUARY 16, 1830: Last night the English Opera House was burnt down — a agnificent fire. I was playing at whist at the "Travellers" with Lord Granville, Lord Auckland, and Ross, when we saw the whole sky illuminated and a volume of fire rising in the air. We thought it was Covent Garden, and set off to the spot. We found the Opera House and several houses in Catherine Street on fire (sixteen houses), and though it was three in the morning, the streets filled with an immense multitude . . . All the gentility of London was there from Prince Esterhazy's ball and all the clubs ... then the soldiers, the firemen and the engines, and the new police running and bustling ... — Leaves From the Diary of Henry Gre-ville (Smith, Elder, 1863).

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Death Notices

James Brazilly a sons ign ven 223 usso OMNOND, Roger on February 12, 1996, Funeral service at Mortiste crematorium, Townmead Road on Yusaday, February 20 at 10 am Donators to the Royal Brompton Hospital Respiratory Medicine Cancer Research Fund, account no 0472.

Memorial Services

Births

HERBON, COMLEY, On February the 13th to Patricia and Allen, a daughter Leitah To place your announcem 0171 511 9080

Jackdaw



Suits R Us

freedom

SO FAR HAS India moved from the 1930s ideal that Laloo Prasad Yadav, chief minister of Bihar state, whom no one had ever seen in anything but his native tunic and dhoti, had himself fitted out in crisp new safari suits when he flew to Singapore last year to rustle up investors. Yaday's anxiety not to cut a rustic figure illustrated a rever-sal that Samuel Huntington noted in his controversial 1993 essay, "The Clash of Civ-ilisations?" Formerly, Huntington wrote, the elite in developing countries was Westernised, while the populace clung to indigenous

ways. Now the elite is going native, while "Western, usu-ally American, cultures, styles and habits become more popular among the mass of the people". Deracination is not the only reason why traditional styles are languishing. Cost and conve nience also matter. One cause for unrest among Nepalese nigrants in the Himalavan kingdom of Bhutan is their

mandatory kho, a handsome but unwieldly kilt-like robe of heavy local weave. For thrusting East Asians. however, traditional garb has long signified stagnation. During their wartime occupation of Thailand, the Japanese ordered Thai women to wear gloves and hats with native dress. Today Ryutaro Hashi-moto and his colleagues constitute the world's only Cabi-

preference for easily handled drip-dry synthetics to the

The Chinese are far more imaginative in conveying poclothes. Orthodox commu-

in the Edwardian splendour o

striped trousers and cutaway

net that is dressed to kill

nists still believe that anyone who flaunts blue jeans must be intoxicated with pop music, dancing, liberal democracy and other forms of cultural heresy. Anxious to project a more acceptable modernism. Premier Zhao Ziyang drew the lounce suit at the party's 13th National Congress in 1987. Similarly, Jiang Zemin's choice of a grey button-up Mao jacket for a 1995 partydiscipline committee meeting was seen as an attempt to ingratiate himself with the Old Guard as a worthy successor to Deng Xiaoping. Subse quently, Jiang donned a mili-tary uniform to announce leg-

Clique life

islation on martial law, but he reverted to the Mao jacket in January when urging party cadres not to abjure ideology. Sunanda K Datta-Ray takes a peek at political dress codes for Time magazine.

AN ESSENTIAL part of student life is the clique. However much of a zany, original individual you are, before

long you'll probably find

common features . . . You might for instance choose to be a thesp, appending every sentence with "darling" or "sweetie" and spand your time pondering the relation-ship between poetry and art ... Alternatively, you could shun all high culture and spend your money on large holy jumpers and DMs and espouse a proletarian lifestyle. In this case, never wash ther yourself or your clothes, take pride in your distinctive pong and spend your days sitting in the pub drinking your grant cheque and be moaning the fact that the world is run by Megabucks Plc, forgetting that daddy is actually a major shareholder and has a cushy 30 grand-a-

Or take your chequebook to Cult Clothing, kit yourself out with several pairs of tartan trousers, a few dress shorts. Kangol cap and record bag. For the female, a short plastic pastel shirt, skin-tight silver plastered all over it . . .

year job lined up for you as

oon as you finish.

thigh-length boots and a little silver rucksack are Don't panic, you don't actu

ally have to do these things; simply don the togs and pick up the lingo . . . If you don't fancy any of the above: Be a hack or a journo-back, and spend your time doing important things and rushing around from one meeting to the other with your briefcase full of pat PC-isms; Be a rugby player or a rower and sit in your college bar partaking in drinking competitions and call your friends Nobbers, Robbers or Flobbers; Spend your time at black-tie functions and drinking clubs, not forgetting your little black etworking notebook . . . Or be a Eurotrash Cocktailite essential features are blonde hair, long legs and a European kiss everyone in the room and say, "Were you at Marco's last week? He had the sauce flown in from Verona," then ask, "Will you be in Rome for Christmas?" and

Survival Guide from the deter-

minedly non-student Oxford zine First Word.

High gloss WOMEN JAILED FOR HAVING AN ABORTION.

 FIRST AND SECOND
 WIVES COMPARE NOTES CHILDREN WHO JOIN THE KU KLUX KLAN. WHAT YOUR MOTHER THINKS OF YOUR SEX LIFE.

TWANT TO MARRY MY FATHER-IN-LAW. THE TRUTH ABOUT



Gaspi . . . Marie Claire

ANTI-AGEING.

• MEN WHO CLAIM TO BE High-brow provocations from Marie Claire, trampeting its

biggest issue ever". Male driver

ONE CURRENT subject which has fascinated me for years has been the use and intent of "Child on Board" stickers... Generally I take it to mean "we most likely have a woman driver in front who has one or more of her offspring on board. She is quite likely to be distracted, and thinking of anything but driving, may not hear a fog horn above the noise in the car and might prove to be ultra-cautious and a mite unpredictable."

So when do these people take the stickers out? At what age does it become OK to drive normally in the presence of a car carrying a child? What is so special about a child? The value of a young adult — in good health and educated to the limit of its intelligence — must be far higher than that of a baby or

young child. Almost half the population is a "mistake" and we all know that getting another baby is something most couples go to great lengths to avoid. Producing human beings isn't difficult and nor does it require a lot of effort or creativity. There are millions of them about, increasing at the rate of around four per second. But then I always remember being told in my first appraisement never use logic in an emotional situation". I just keep out of the way. The best sticker I saw in a car was right next to a "Child

on Board" one and it read "Mother in Law in Boot"! A letter signed "I Dunna. North Yorks" to Motoring and Leisure, the official magazine of the Civil Service Motoring Association. Thanks to Mike Whitaker.

Jackdaw wants your jewels. Email jackdaww guardian.co.uk: fax 0171-713 4366; Jackdaw. The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London ECIR 3ER.

Dan Glaister

The Guardian

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After the spin, the truth

The more Scott is read the more deadly it will prove

more than a generation, to shine the searchlight of truth into the most protected places of modern British government. Yesterday, as the long awaited inquiry report was finally published, government made sure that it got its retaliation in first. Presented with the heaviest and most detailed report on itself in living memory, the British

given for more time by more people to the handling of yesterday than to any day in British politics this decade. This official response to Scott had been years in the consideration, months in the planning and eight vital days in detailed preparation. Naive purists might have expected that the official reaction would be rational and detailed, a setting out of the findings followed by a point-by-point response. After all, what were those eight days of advance notice for? In the event, it was clear that they were simply to allow the Government to prepare a short-term counter-attack that was at times shocking in its cynicism but also awesome in its discipline and even impressive in its initial effect. The President of the Board of Trade's statement to Parliament was a confident, perhaps over-confident, party political travesty of the truths in the report. But the Government has survived day one without casualties. And in terms of a long-prepared battle-plan, in which the sometimes farcical and much criticised publication arrangements can now be seen to have had a deadly serious sectarian purpose, that was probably the only important

Yet even with the dice so heavily loaded in his favour, Ian Lang only just held the line for the Government. It was asking a lot for MPs who had only just interests." Not much honour there. unwrapped their copies of the 2,000 No one who even begins to read the Labour (three hours were rarely better | of it yesterday. This is not a report on spent), Menzies Campbell for the Liberal Democrats and, perhaps most ominously of all for a government with a small majority, the Conservative backbencher Richard Shepherd all managed to rock the minister. And not surprisingly, for the more thoroughly that the contents of the report are known, the more the awkward questions arise and the damaging judgments compel themselves. "Misleading", "not corresponding with reality", "sophistry" and "the duplicitous nature of the flexibility claimed for the guidelines". Sir Richard's judiciously phrased charges leave

a lethal sting.
It is already clear that Mr Lang's statement, and the orchestrated Government news management operation last night, were built on the most highly selective quotes from Sir Richard Scott's report and the most tendentious paraphrases of his conclusions. In the President of the Board of Trade's own words, the most important reason why the inquiry was set up was the use of gagging orders - public interest immu- day was day one. There will be many nity certificates - which withheld vital Matrix Churchill defendants accused of selling arms to Iraq. To listen to Mr duplicity. The outcome for the Govern-Lang's account, Sir Richard would appear to have given his approval to than the one they tried so shamelessly everything that ministers did. Yet the to engineer yesterday.

THE SCOTT inquiry was an attempt. whole tenor and momentum of the unprecedented in scale and reach for report are that Sir Richard has done the very opposite.

In volume four, for example, he cites "example after example" of failure to honour ministers' obligation to play straight. In volume three Sir Richard talks of the "consistently grudging" attitude of the Government to the disclosure of information to the defence. Note that "consistently", for one of the essential lessons of this report is that itself in living memory, the British state machine went for a round one knockout of its critics. Faced with the possibility that it might even fall if things were mishandled, the Government deployed every trick in its prodigious defensive and diversionary repertoire to prevent the instant resignation of vulnerable ministers. In the short run it succeeded. In the long run, it cannot be so confident.

More forethought had probably been state machine went for a round one essential lessons of this report is that the Government's actions were rarely arbitrary or capricious. The judge then makes four specific criticisms of the use of gagging orders: the width of the gag "which ought to have had no place in a criminal trial"; the withholding of documents which would not even have been kept confidential in a civil case; the Attorney General's advice to ministers which led them to believe they had no discretion; and the Attorney General. no discretion; and the Attorney General's instructions to Mr Heseltine that he had a legal duty to sign. If that is a vindication of the Government, it would be truly frightening to see a condemnation.

Take a second central example: the issue of misleading statements to MPs. To listen to Mr Lang and William Waldegrave last night you might have been forgiven for imagining that the former Foreign Office number two was a shamefully impugned man who had acted honourably throughout. Yet in volume one (in a paragraph quoted in the Commons yesterday by Mr She-phard) Sir Richard says: "The answer to parliamentary questions, in both Houses of Parliament, failed to inform Parliament of the current state of Government policy on non-lethal arms sales to Iraq. This failure was deliberate and was an inevitable result of the agreement between the three junior ministers that no publicity would be given to the decision to adopt a more liberal, or relaxed, policy or interpretation of the Guidelines... The overriding and de-terminative reason was a fear of strong public opposition to the loosening of restrictions on the supply of defence equipment to Iraq and a consequential

page, five volume report to do serious | Scott report can fail to see that it is a far damage to Mr Lang's honed official more subtle and wide-ranging docuversion. Yet some of them managed it ment than anyone could imagine from even so. The prodigious Robin Cook for | listening to the Government's version some one-off event in an esoteric aspect of public policy or a marginal area of public administration. Governmental honesty about arms sales to the Middle East is a subject which draws in some of the deepest contradictions of twentieth century British statecraft. It raises questions about our political constitution, our industrial policy, our postimperial legacy and about the people who make the decisions in our name.

To imagine that these questions can

be settled within a few hours of the publication of the Scott report is simply ridiculous. So it is important to assert the public duty to read the report properly before attempting definitive judgments about its conclusions - and about their implications for the careers of individual ministers. In ten days time, Parliament is due to debate the report. The single day allotted for that exercise is quite inadequate. At least two days are needed. Sir Richard Scott is right. His report is too important to be summarised in a soundbite. Yestermore. The issue, not least for Mr Waldegovernment documents from the grave and Sir Nicholas Lyell, should turn as much on incompetence as on ment could in the end be much bloodier

Peers, privilege and the payroll

It is in the Lords' interest to clean up their own backyard

WHILE the Commons was waiting for of Chilworth declared an interest when Scott, the Lords was cleaning its own stables. Yesterday it published the first vironment Bill, aimed at reducing con-Register of Lords' Interests showing trols on waste disposal, while being that 22 peers act as paid advisers for outside interests and a further five are paid lobbyists. This is pretty small beerage by the standards of the Commons where 30 per cent of members are paid consultants compared with less than two per cent of lords. Whether this is because peers don't need the readies or firms don't need the peers is beside | nies out of the hundreds of thousands the point. The question is whether it devalues the House that they do it all.

Peers represent no one but themselves. When they speak on subjects they know about conflicts of interest can be an asset: like the Earl of Glasgow, owner of a country park in Ayrshire, speaking on tourism or Lord Weinstock on industry. The problem backyard before the constitutional arises when they are paid to promote future of the House itself comes under somebody else's interests. Lord Lucas political scrutiny.

retained by the Association of Waste Disposal Contractors. Why should they have privileged access?

Those who pay peers to be consultants are a motley crowd including giants like Glaxo, BT (and, yes, British Gas) to the Bingo Association of Great Britain. Just why a handful of compathat exist should pay peers to be consultants is difficult to know. They presumably get value for money (though it would be nice to know whether a unit trust consisting of all the quoted companies that peers represent would outpace the FT all-share index). Meanwhile it is in the Lords' interest to clean up their



Letters to the Editor

The bias on the dais

lishment of the Church of England (Church in a state, February 15) repeats the much-quoted view that Christians live in an intrusive secular culture. The reality is that it is Christians who intrude into the lives of those of us who choose not to

First, our children are forced by law to participate in a religious education system. This would not be so bad if the system did not also avoid any mention of the contradic-tions in the bible or historical evidence pointing to errors in the same work of fiction.

Second, unless you are pre-pared to participate in a marriage ceremony that contains at least some religious ele-ments, it is impossible to obtain the usual legal benefits obtained by married couples. Thus couples who also hap-pen to be atheists are put at a disadvantage in the UK's legal system, unless they are prepared to kneel before the almighty Church.

Third, the state broadcaster promotes Christian views using money obtained from everyone, regardless of Christian or not. Ask your average BBC licence-payer what they would prefer -- a reduction in the licence fee or continued Christian propaganda

— and these broadcasts would

end overnight. The Church of England should agree to end these

ADELEINE Bunting's practices of intruding into tions that the Church has article on disestable non-believers' lives and, in swung to the left.

It is higher than the church all links with the Church.

Steve Sheppardson.

33 Trewsbury Road. Keith Miller.

10 Rue Maublanc. Paris 75015, France.

OR years, whenever socialists complained of a right-wing bias in the Church the BBC or the Lords, they were told that these institutions were vital to our democ racy because they represented some long-standing notional "middle ground" and were above the daily politics of whichever party happened to be in power.

servative Party, would deny that both major political par-ties have become more right-wing in the last 15 years. If these institutions really do fulfil the function of holding the middle ground, they must appear to be more left wing. Hence Tory complaints of media bias, conflicts with their own supporters in the House of Lords and sugges-

Steve Sheppardson. 33 Trewsbury Road, London SE26 5DP. AM surprised at the weight

you give to a survey of vot-ing patierns of nearly four years ago (Anglican clergy lean to LibDems, February 14). A great deal has changed since the 1992 election. Our more clergy now support More ciergy now support.

Labour. Our recent membership drive brought in over
1,000 recruits in its first week.

The reason: most clergy
have to deal week in, week

and with the compalties of the out with the casualties of the social breakdown in our com

munities. While the LibDems offer rhetoric and a variety of contradictory solutions, only Labour offers the realistic hope of reversing this national destruction. Chris Bryant. Chair, The Christian

Socialist Movement. 36 Old Queen Street,



Hollywouldn't

HE "Warner Brothers Movie World" Theme Park proposed for Hillingdon, (Home News, February 14) sums up in a phrase what is wrong with us. It will destroy a huge tract of our country side, which is already disappearing fast under the com-bined onslaught of government, planners, law-yers, road-builders and developers. Not just the complex but also all the roads and their adjuncts. And with two million people travelling to it by car per annum, the decree of fume/noise/litter pollution will be mestimable.

The 3,500 jobs it will supposedly supply are precisely the sort of jobs we should not want. Johs without skills, stupid jobs that stultify the intellect. Mickey Mouse jobs. Jobs for dummies. Low-paid obs. Standing about-looking pretty-grinning-endlessly jobs. The jobs that turn people into empty-headed zombies fit for the Sun/Mir-

ror/Sunday Sport and TV soaps.

I feel intense despair at the fact that this awful scheme is proposed by a so-called Labour peer and will be en-dorsed by a Labour council It fully illustrates the dismal truth that the Labour Party-Old and New — simply does not think environmentally. Michael Knowles. Howey Lane, Congleton, Cheshire CW11 4AE.

F Lord Hollick wants to rip up the countryside, give punters "Die Hard" whiteknuckle thrills marshalled by poorly paid disaffected work-ers, and bring in film cameras, why doesn't he put in a bid for the Newbury bypass? Peter Verney. 22 Lee View, Hebden Bridge,

West Yorkshire HX7 8LQ.

DETECTIVES on the trail of the missing porkers (Home News, February 15) should extend their enquiries to the Guardian Valentines pages (February 14). There was only one piglet to be found there this year. Peter Barnes. Simpson, Milton Reynes,

Bucks MK6 3AY.

Debate from the oil platform

GOVERNMENT oil tax policy has probably become gas production, the country's too undemanding in recent other energy industries years, but by no means as much as Dr Routledge, Dr Wright and Will Huiton believe (Letters, February 13).
In the absence of lower taxes, the near one-third fall in the real price of oil since 1990 would otherwise have undermined the propensity of the industry to invest in explo-ration and appraisal and thus left much oil undiscovered. Instead, and in spite of rising production, the country's dis-covered reserves — and, even more important, the estimates of remaining reserves — now stand at an all-time high. In each year since 1988, reserves have exceeded use. They have certainly not been depleted by two-thirds, as Will Hutton

Moreover, the higher after-tax returns available to com-panies as a result of the tax reductions have led to field-exploitation decisions which are capital intensive and thus capable of extracting a higher percentage of the oil in place. Without this incentive, fields would have continued to be

"creamed" as they were in the late 1970s and 1980s. In the wider energy-sector context, it is worth noting that, in spite of the low taxes paid, oil and gas exploitation has continued to make a net contribution to state reve-

Prof. Emeritus, International Energy Studies. 7 Constitution Hill. ipswich, Suffolk IP1 3RG. DOCTORS Rutledge and stating that gross trading profits are defined after de-duction of depreciation and depletion charges. The definition in the National Income Accounts Blue Book is clearly

coal and nuclear power -

would have cost the Exche

quer even greater subsidies and/or consumers, ever

higher prices. Peter R Odell.

before depreciation (and interest). North Sea oil exploita-tion is highly capital intensive and any reasonable measure of the taxable capacity of the activity must obviously include these costs.

Nobody has suggested that exploration and development would have cassed if the pre-1983 fiscal arrangements had been maintained, but plenty of studies have demonstrated that activity levels and tax-able capacity would certainly have been reduced. No evidence to the contrary has been produced. (Prof.) A G Kemp. University of Aberdeen,

Alzheimer's scores yet again

Bob Paisley (Paisley leaves Liverpool mourning, Febru-ary 15). Mr Paisley, who died at the relatively early age of 77, suffered from Alzheimer's disease, as did that other great footballer and manager, Danny Blanchflower.

Recent research has high-lighted a possible link between devel loping Alzheimer's disease and playing professional football. The research found that damage and shrinkage of brain tissue was more common among professional footballers than other people. It was also found that | London SW1P 1PH.

WERE all sorry to hear severe head injury could lead to pathological changes in the footballer and club manager, brain similar to those in Alzto pathological changes in the brain similar to those in Alzheimer's. Other research has also linked boxing and dementia. It appears that persistent blows, for whatever reason, over a long period of time, may put people at risk of dementia in later life. We would like to see more

research in this area. None of us wants to see any more great sporting legends atruck down by this devastating

Harry Cayton. Executive Director. Alzheimer's Disease Society, 10 Greencoat Place.

The Government and its very unaccommodating Housing Bill

David Curry's assurances about the Government's Housing Bill (The government response, Society, February 7) gloss over the fact that the supply of rented housing is to be increased to familiar will be supply as the fact that the supply of rented housing is to be increased to meet the needs of all the families will be condemned to live longer in insecure temporary accommodation if rary accommodation if changes to the homelessness legislation become law. It is outrageous that homeless families will pay the price for a policy that has seen the number of new socially rented homes drastically cut while hundreds of thousands

wait for permanent housands
wait for permanent housing.
In playing off homeless
people against people on the
waiting list, Mr Curry misses
the point that both are in
need of a permanent home in
which to bring up their children and stabilise their lives. It
is simply not true to say that is simply not true to say that homeless families get a "fast track" into social housing. Last year, less than a third of new council homes and just a fact that it is a second to the se fifth of housing association homes were allocated to homeless people, while al-most three in five homeless families were already on the waiting list when they became homeless. The single route into housing proposed by the Government will not be fair, for the simple reason that homeless people will no longer feature in the list of priorities for permanent

housing allocations. Changing the homelessness legislation is not only a draconian attack on some of the country's most vulnerable families; it also conceals the real problem of the shortage of affordable rented housing and the lack of effective policies for tackling problems. Chris Holmes. Director, Shelter.

London EC1V 9HU.

that the supply of rented housing is to be increased to meet the needs of all the people on long waiting lists (many of whom subsequently are forced to make homeless.

applications). In fact, the Housing Bill does the reverse: it extends ing-association developments in settlements of over 10,000 people. Housing associations have been seen by this Government as the providers of new social rented housing. What incomtive will there be for landowners to provide for landowners to provide land at a reasonable price to ensure developments with affordable rents if they know that there is the possibility of the houses or flats being sold? Shirley Chambers. 2 St Georges Road, Hexham,

THE proposed Bill means that even those in temporary accommodation after two years will have to be moved to other temporary accommodation. There is also a new proposal that all tenan-cies now to be created will be six-month shorthold tenancies unless otherwise expressly agreed. So landlords will now be able to move their tenants at will, with little concern as to the social effects

upon the tenant. We hope that David Curry will examine responses to the consultation paper and in-clude safeguards to provide the security of a home, to which all are entitled.

Bobbetts Mackan Solicitors & Advocates, 20a Berkeley Square, Clifton, Bristol BS8 1HP.

There is widespread concern

its contribution to multilat-eral development programmes

fluence throughout the world. The minister claimed she

was "more than disappointed

chooses to remain as Overseas

Overseas Development.

with an inevitable lo

Why the aid minister must resign

OUR leader on the aid de-bate (February 14) was thoughtful and thorough, Bar-oness Chalker's speech on the There is widespread concern future of overseas-development policy confirms our worst fears that the Government intends drastically to reduce the ODA's role and

status. Britain's spending on overseas development assistance in November that the aid bud-has fallen from 0.51 per cent of GDP (and falling) under a more than astonished that she Labour government in 1979 to the the current 0.21 per cent (and falling). Labour in its first year of office will start to reverse that decline. This week in New York and Washington, George Foulkes | London SW1A QAA.

Development Minister. Joan Lestor MP. Shadow Minister for House of Commons

A Country Diary

with the apparent increase in numbers and distribution of predators. In the last week, someone further up this strath had lost four geese and be called in to see me and ask advice. He was convinced it was a pine marten and this was based on the fact that he had seen one and pieces of the dead birds had been taken up into trees. I often get such queries and the very first thing I ask is whether the poultry are put into strong hutches every night. In this case, the dozen geese had simply been left to spend the night on a nearby lock only inside away from the home. yards away from the house. Every other morning a dead and partly-eaten goose would birds, with mink increasingly be found in the shallows although there were no signs ever, are not the complete left by the predator. The probleft by the present a relation with this type of incident seem with this type of incident seems that the original predator creasing reports of pine parlem with this type or includent is that the original predator may not be the only one. I remember investigating a light and they have been seen case on an estate near Inverness when an estimated 80 throughout the Highlands. pheasant poults had been

HIGHLANDS: Keeping poul- killed over three nights — try these days can be difficult almost certainly by pine martens. When I examined the carcases at the site, a hooded and carrion crow were feeding on the carcases, a buzzard nearby had obviously gorged-itself and there were fresh for spraints. As regards the geese, I could only suggest a fox might have been the culprit with other mammals or birds taking pieces up into the trees. My recommendation was to build some sound hutches to keep the birds in overnight. Some people I know have also been "raided" by mink and there are now several places in the High-lands where people have simply stopped keeping poultry as they have lost so many answer as, in the past few in a number of places RAY COLLIER

insurers to raise p

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Wellington ends British honours ends British honours

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String of failures undermines attempt by Peking to offer world's cheapest satellite launches

Chinese rocket explodes seconds after lifting off

CHINA'S latest rocket, the 426-ionne Long March 3B, satellite, veered into the ground and exploded yesterday. 20 seconds after lift-off. At least ten people were injured in a remote region of Sichuan province in western China.

Almost exactly 13 months ago, and also on the eve of the Chinese New Year when people expect good news, a Long March 2E, carrying a Hughes Apstar satellite, exploded 50 seconds after its launch before crashing into a

house killing a family of six. The failure of yesterday's Long March, carrying the three-tonne Intelsat 708, manufactured by Lockheed Martin and owned by International is a blow to plans by Rupert

eover

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executive of The News Corporation, publisher of The Times, to use the satellite for television services in Latin America and to offer video, data and voice services in the Americas, Africa and Europe. A company spokesman said that, despite the failed launch, services will begin in May. "News Corp has a number of other real options, and will disclose them shortly."

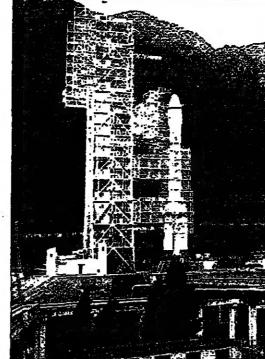
With its Long March rock-



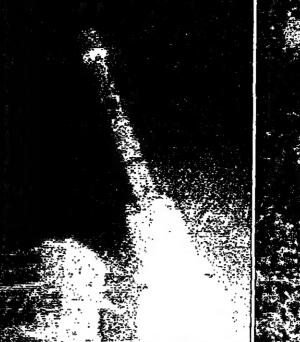
satellite launches, half the cost charged by Japan's National Space Development Agency. But a Japanese scientist yes-terday noted that the global race to cut costs increases the

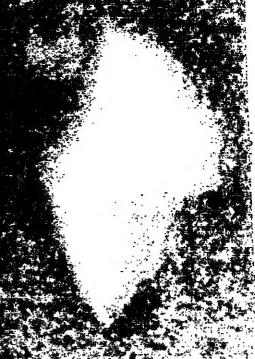
The Intelsat 708 and the Long March rocket were in-sured for \$204.7 million (£136.5 million). The cost of insurance for launches is now expected to rise steeply.

Although China has an active military ballistic missile programme, experts agree it is not a simple task to move from that to civilian satellite launches. Only six of China's 40 launches since 1970 have failed. Two were joint Chi-









The Xichang Space Centre, from where the Long March rocket lifted off yesterday. It veered off course, centre, before falling back to earth in flames, righ

they did yesterday, that the Long March rockets are of high quality, leaving the suggestion that the problem may lie with the satellites.

transmission of yesterday's launch was similar to last

the launch but transmission stopped before the rocket hit the ground. Last year viewers saw a red streak, a fireball, and the stunned looks of officials in the control room. Then a presenter said, "This has not succeeded," and transinformation appeared for days and newspapers buried the

Yesterday's first official ac-count, by the New China News Agency, stated only that the rocket had failed to carry

try spokesman, said that although the cause was not known. I don't think the accident will cause an adverse impact on China's oxoperation with other countries"

Xichang, the nearest town to

man said only that dectors had been sent down the valley to the launch site, which is a the end of a country road winding through paddies, and

Insurers are likely to raise premiums

THE losses of Intelsat 708 and Long March 3B - the first rocket to be built entirely

plans were just coming to fruition, with the United States agreeing last year to allow the country to enter the lucrative commercial launch

also beginning to recover from the adverse publicity surrounding the loss of the Apstar satellite just after its launch in January last year. The explosion, which China initially blamed on a malfunctioning satellite but was later attributed to wind shear, killed six people.

Things began to look rosier at the end of last year. A Long March 2E rocket successfully (£130 million) AsiaSat-2.

The launch was followed by triumphant announcements of plans to put 25 domestic and foreign satellites in orbit by 1998. Only this month, the American Congress approved a plan to export three American-built satellites for launch aboard Chinese rockets.

Even if satellite manufacturers are still attracted by the cut-price costs of Chinese launches the insurance premiums may prove too high. In 1994, the insurance industry paid out more for lost satellites than it collected in

smoothly in space for Japan either. Tokyo's attempt to gramme has been interrupted by the loss of Hyflex, a hypersonic plane which would have travelled to and from the international space station. After launch from the two days ago, it re-entered successfully but the parachute



Bolger: move reflects

Wellington ends British honours

Wellington: New Zealand scrapped most of the honours it inherited from Britain yesterday, but is to retain the titles of knight and dame for the top honour holders. Jim Bolger, the Prime Minister.

Honours such as Knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire (KBE) and the lesser Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) are to be replaced by a graduated system of orders of

The decision was taken by the ruling National Party cau-cus. Mr Bolger denied it was a new step on the road to republicanism, saying it reflected the country's independence. "It will be a distinctly New Zealand system." The Oucen will still award

the honours according to recommendations made by the Government. (AFP)

Moroccan Customs officers charged

FROM MARK HUBAND IN RABAT

ALMOST the entire senior management of Morocco's customs office has been charged with fraud and smuggling after a crackdown on racketeers and drug traffickers. The drive also saw 16 Moroccans and three Spaniards in court this week charged with smuggling cannabis to Europe.

Among those accused of customs fraud was Ahmed Hamza, the officer leading the Government's campaign against fraud within the customs service. He was charged along with Ali Amor, the director-general of customs, and 17 officials, including Jai Hokaimi Hamed, Mr Amor's predecessor. They will appear in court on March 7, charged with complicity in smuggling and professional misconduct.

The arrests came two months after the Government announced its intention of swooping on professional smugglers responsible for bringing contraband electrical goods, clothes and food into Morocco in a business estimated at £2 billion a year in

lost duties. in a separate smuggling case two brothers and their accomplices were this week iailed for up to five years for smuggling goods into Morocco, and fined £600,000.

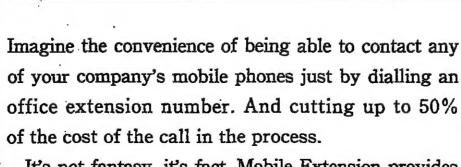
Rwandan refugees seized

Kibumba Camp. Zaire: Sol-diers trying to force Rwandan refugees to go home closed down husinesses in the largest camp yesterday after arresting ten people for al-

eged intimidation. United Nations officials said five people were arrested on Tuesday and five on Wednesday in an attempt to prevent the intimidation of Rwandans thinking of return-

sioner for Refugees, said he expected arrests in other camps. He also expected Zaire to impose an economic embargo except for food, water and health services.

In the muddy alleyways of Kibumba's tarpaulin city, all but a few shops were closed and streets were full of anxious men clutching radios Refugees accused troops of destroying their stalls and confiscating their wares. But



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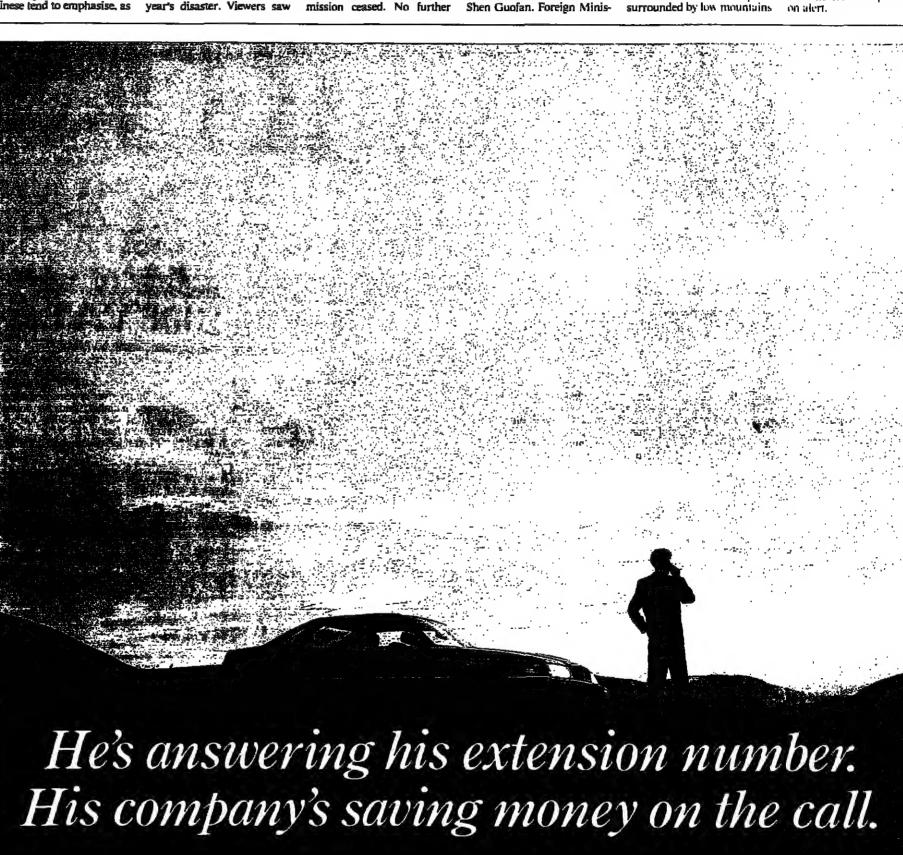
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'It is my duty to unite healthy forces in society to prevent possible upheavals, including civil wa

Friday Feb Edition Nu 119 Farring Telts in seeks second term as President

FROM RICHARD BEESTON IN MOSCOW

The months of speculation about his andidacy for reflection in June's presidential poll.

Despite widespread unpopularity and doubts about his health, the unpreceder Russian leader gave a creditable more than performance before supporters in searchlight the Urals, where he launched his tected plac bid to recapture the mass support ment. Yes which swept him to power five inquiry regars ago.

inquiry r years ago.
governme "It is my duty, as a human being retaliation and as a citizen and as a politician heaviest : who initiated reform to unite all itself in healthy forces in society and to state may prevent possible upheavals, inknockout cluding a civil war," he said. "That possibilit is why I have decided to run for the things w Russian presidency and I an-ment dep nounce this decision here in my gious defi home town.

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President Yeltsin did not spell of vulne out his campaign strategy nor details of his electoral platform. However, it seemed clear that he plans to travel widely in the runup to the June 16 election in the hope of rebuilding a popular following. Much of his rhetoric was directed against the danger of a Communist victory, which he predicted could return Russia to the darkest days of Soviet rule and even provoke a new civil war.
"At these elections, not only I,

but the whole of Russia will lay on the railway tracks and we must do everything possible so that we. Russians, and our country do not perish beneath the red wheel of the Communist] past," he said.

As for policies, the Russian leader insisted that he was committed to economic reforms, democracy and human rights. But he added that the course of change would have to be altered to cushion the effects of liberalisation.

find funds to help poverty-stricken pensioners and unpaid workers and that he would work to eradicate government corruption and organised crime. As a first step, he hinted at a purge of the leadership, suggesting that Gener-

al Pavel Grachev, the unpopular Defence Minister, may be sacked and that Aleksei Ilyushenko, the former Prosecutor-General, may be tried on corruption charges along with 1,200 other officials.

He also made it clear that he planned to deal with the Chechen separatist conflict with an iron hand. He ruled out the possibility of a military withdrawal and suggested at one point during a walkabout in the city that Chechen rebel leaders should be arrested

In spite of two heart attacks last year, prolonged absences from public view and mounting criticism of his autocratic leadership style, President Yeltsin proved yesterday that he still has the energy for the hard campaign before polling day on June 16. "We are stronger than those who, throughout the years, have

been putting spokes in the wheels and impeding our progress towards a great and free Russia and towards a decent life for all Russians," he declared.



President Yeltsin announcing yesterday that he will seek re-election

Zyuganov pick as Communi standard-bear

FROM THOMAS DE WAAL IN MOSCOW

THE Russian Communist Party nominated Gennadi Zyuganov, its leader, as its presidential candidate yester-day after intensive negotiations to find a figure to unite the Left against President

As expected, delegates at a one-day party conference unanimously endorsed Mr Zyuganov with a flutter of red voting cards before standing to sing the Internationale.

The party leader called Mr Yeltsin "a fairly vulnerable figure" and said the re-election of the President "would mean the destruction of our country".

A wide range of smaller leftwing groups have been per-suaded over the past few weeks to back Mr Zyuganov as the "united candidate" of

the Russian Left. But the price of unanimity for Mr Zyuganov was a pledge to support the party favourite and popular Siberian politi-

Hopefuls set for vain race

THE front-runners in the Russian presidential race are likely to be joined by scores of other hopefuls (Richard Beeston writes). Their supporters are currently gather-ing the one million signatures necessary for a candidate to be accepted by the Central Electoral Commission by the April 16 deadline.

As with the parliamentary polls in December, when 43 parties competed for the Duma, the lower house of parliament voters will be able to choose from a bewildering array of candidates, who have

little chance of winning.

If no one receives more than 50 per cent of the first round vote, a run-off takes place between the two leading candidates a month later. Only in this final stage will it become clear who is to become Russia's next leader.

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cian. Aman Tuley "reserve candida Tuleyev said he wo the signatures neede ter as a candidate. draw later in favo

party leader. Mr Zyuganov, 51. maths teacher from ern region of t emerged as a co figure, acceptable t loved by few.

His strengths are party organiser that matic leader, and side was revealed in ponderous speech fi gans, and listened to silence. He made fev policy proposals and ed most of his rhet long catalogue of the

current regime. *Citizens in Russia anteed only three re said in one of l eloquent lines: "The steal, the right to g the right to be answe nothing.

The Communist p. an estimated memb half a million, has organisational base regions, which will conduct a strong c Its problems stem for fashioned image. M: grey-suited delegates day's conference app be late middle-aged ranking Soviet bu who had failed to ad: changes of the G

Several guest speal a warning to the o that the party needed en its electoral base it capture the presid June. In December mentary elections, t topped the poll with cent of the vote and n 15 million votes.

A repeat of that wil ly guarantee Mr Zyr run-off in the pre election against Mr Y another candidate, bu outright he will need

Top British offici in EU is subject corruption clain

By Charles Bremner

THE European Commission hopes to reach a speedy decision on whether to open proceedings against Michael Emerson, one of its most senior British officials, who is under investigation over alle-gations that he exploited for personal gain his posting as EU Ambassador to Moscow.

A spokesman for Jacques Santer, the Commission President, said he was determined to root out any misconduct by officials and was "very keen to clarify these matters as soon as possible". He confirmed that Mr Emerson, 55, who played a key role in the setting up the European Monetary System and served as a close adviser to Roy Jenkins when he was Commission President, was the subject of an internal inquiry. "We are also listening to Mr Emerson to hear what he has to say," he

Mr Emerson, an Oxfordeducated economist who has served in the Commission since 1973, returned from Moscow last month at end of a five-year tour as the EU's first representative at ambassadorial level in the Russian capital. He is now working in the section responsible for rela-

tions with Eastern Eur the former Soviet Unic Close friends said th amazed by the alle against Mr Emerso had a French moth whose wife, Barbara, r ten successful history "He is not at all the chap who would be i in something shady," s long-time friend. "He most a somewhat un

person. A colleague in the Ec Affairs Directorate wh Emerson has spent mo Brussels career and ro one of the top officials him "very energetic, vi bitious", but added: "T of him having his fin the till would be surprising.

One of the chief task Moscow representative oversee the disbursen tens of millions of poyear in EU aid to R business enterprises. Commission had receiv uments from a non-R source which alleged th Emerson had used hi ition to direct funds to ence businesses in wh had an interest, a Comn



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Diary | - - -

Matthew Norman

ONCERNS for my missing friend Dr Julian Lewis, the radio ham of Tory Central Office, reach a new pitch of dementia, but I have stopped leaving my messages on his answering machine. For the last one was clearly intercepted by the robotic clone with which be has been replaced by the evil infiltrators who have kidnapped him. A week ago, the clone told my so-called rival on the London Evening Standard that a perfectly innocuous piece "has made me look a complete wanker", and that as a result he would not peak to her for six months. Dread words. On hearing this, I instantly rang Julian at Central Office to warn him, in a whisper, about the clone's behaviour. Before long, the clone rang my so-called rival back, and told her that, if she wrote a letter to the Guardian decrying my account of the incident, the sentence of silence would be commuted from three to six months. Julian. if you are reading this, for God's sake send a sign that you are well. The clone is acting like a pompous neurotic, and is making you look foolish. Come back, before it is too late.

EANWHILE, auother so-called rival, the diarist at the downmarket Daily Express, has cruelly maligned my old friends the Folletts. The back claims to have received a fax from Ken and Barbie headed "The Follett Office", which lists the entire entourage — the "executive secretary" is Terri, Pam is in charge of "press and diary", informa-tion technology is in the hands of Victor, while Ann looks after "the Follett Trust". The Follett Trusti An entourage!! The Follett Office!!! As if Ken and Barbie, of all people, could pos-Since the Folletts themselves are too self-effacing and humorous by nature ever to complain, the Diary will be demanding a retraction on their behalf.

N the world of tourist information, local knowledge has long been considered a benefit, but perhaps it is time for a rethink. Those who wish for a full brochure on the charms of Staffordshire — a county which includes Alton Towers and the Peak District — are invited by Linkline telephone number: or, alternately, write to Staffordshire Tourism at PO Box 27, Barnstaple EX31 1YW. For those who like to leave nothing to chance the word that should go between the Barnstaple and the EX31 is, of course,

arge

XCELLENT news from the heart of New Labour: there is now such a thing called "The Two Thousand Club" for regular cash donors. Among the more irresistibly tempting aspects of membership is the right to attend functions at Millbank, such as the forthcom-ing series of evenings with two outstanding campaigners — the icy Blair apparatchik Margaret McDon-agh, and the MP for

Harriepool, Mr Mandy (or "Peter" as Miss McDonagh bafflingly calls him) Mandelson. The duo, who senior party sources describe as "New Labour's answer to Anne and Nick", will explain the future, and how it works. Although the Diary's modest budget will not run to membership, it will run to a modest fee to any member who cares to pass on a full report of the

N intriguing debate has broken out on the pages of Earth First. a journal of the radical ecological group. An American reader has written to the problem page, enquiring as to whether fellatio (the produce rather than the act itself) is suitable for vegans. The dilemma. as the correwhile no animal is harmed in the process, vegans eat no animal produce. It is very confusing, so I will be ask-ing my friend Mary White-house for an adjudication first thing next week. I would have spoken to her yesterday but Thursday is her tantric-sex workshop and she never gets home before nightfall.



Aix and pains of critics in aspic

Commentary

Peter Preston

EREMY ISAACS once asked a particularly interesting question. (Which doesn't mean that face to face on television) sion, he doesn't usually ask interesting questions; or that padding doggedly round the chaos of The House, he and his team don't occasionally seem a giant question mark). But this was a year or four ago and we were lunching with the Guardian's opera set. Covent Garden had just mounted yet another high profile, high finance production — pavilioned in roses and ecstatic applause. Our critics, like other critics, vere not so bowled over. The trouble with you lot, said Isaacs, beginning a thoroughly enjoyable rant, is that you're not remotely typical — you're bloody atypical. I was there last night. The au-

dience was young and enthu-

siastic. They loved it. They | for irreconcilable argumen haven't done nothing but go to operas for a living for the past 30 years, comparing notes and drinking Reisling together in their tedious lit-tle world. They don't care whether last night was better or worse than Aix in 1978 or Milan in 1955. They didn't see the definitive interpretation in Verona in 1949. They went to a show. They loved it. Who needs all this historical, internalised, self-referential, preening, snobbish crap? End of round one. (I para-phrase because all the lunch-

ers were too stunned to take notes). There were at least

nine more rounds as the crit-

ics fought back before coffee

stopped play. But there was still a bit of food for thought Different art forms, and the writers who follow them, do operate to different rules. Most opera is old opera; most opera critics have been on the job for years; comparing and contrasting come natu-rally, the weight of the past irresistibly summoned to sit heavy on the stomach of the present. And, because the

is total too. So, opera is opera. And bal-

let (because recordings aren't really operative) is probably even more argumentative. Theatre, with a greater preponderance of new work, is different again. But movies You can check back and forth through decades of history. Take Sabrina. On general release this month, directed by Sydney Pollack, starring Harrison Ford and Julia Ormand, adapted from an an-Ormond, adapted from an ancient stage play by Samuel Taylor. Every critic, without exception, has compared it with the (Audrey Hepburn, Humphrey Bogart, William Holden, Billy Wilder) 1954 version. Every critic, without exception, has pronounced it interior. Well, maybe. But the critics of 1964 can't easily be proved in aid. can't easily be prayed in aid. Then Sabrina Fair was so-so Wilder, with Hepburn doing her enchanted ingenue act again (the Julia Roberts memorial lacture) and a tired, dying Bogart closer to her grandpa than her lover. Only

time passing has made it seem better than that. performance itself — recordings seem better than that.

In just the same way, three ever, recalled only in the passing has made it at many from the passing has made it.

In just the same way, three taking 125 minutes of cinema on its own merits.

That does not make Sabrina '96 a better or a worse mind's eye, subjectivity is Alec Baldwin remade the film. You may like it or grow total; which means the scope 1972 Ali McGraw/Steve humpen with it, according to

thriller, The Getaway. Again, it was inferior, routine, not worth the effort. But that was

thing happens down the long time tunnel of critical mem-ory. Something which didn't seem anything to shout about in the fifties can suddenly be and vanishes instantly into the nether world of off-peak to seems to carry no sic 42 years on — merely be-cause a different director and a different cast have remade

the same yarn.
The old film hasn't changed one frame or one jot.
It has burgeoned in reputa-

What TV critic would think of comparing Seinfeld with Sergeant Bilko or NYPD with Z-Cars?

tion through Critical Roseat Memory Creep — by being something that buffs and experts know about in an quasi perts know about in an quasi-academic way. But the audi-ence for Sabrina in Camberley or Carlisle this week is not composed of ex-perts, or indeed of people who were born in 1972. Ist alone 1954. This is a young andience taking 195 minutes. audience taking 125 minutes

McQueen/Sam Peckinpah | taste. But (thump, thump) thriller, The Getaway. Again, | lofty theses from 1954 are a practical irrelevance; the deluding, changing past itself is an irrelevance.

worth the effort. But that was almost exactly what the critics of 1972 (alas, often the same critics as in 1993) said about the Peckinpah original.

At which point you can almost hear Jeremy Isaacs thumping the table. Something happens down the long ing Seinfeld with Sergeant ing Seinfeld with Sergeant Bilko or NYPD with Z-Cars? It isn't done. It isn't expected. history with it. Its criticism lies on the far side of the opera moon.

We all know — the simples refrain - that Things ain't what they used to be. Whether they're Aida in Whether they're Aida in Verona in 1859 or grammar schools or probity in British public life before the Scott report, the song may be indefinitely extrapolated. You will hear it far beyond the arts whenever people meet to discuss politics or sport or the taste of real ale: the past summoned to shade perceptions of the present with all the ritual thunder of a Daily Mail ritual thunder of a Daily Mail

But life and memory, dis-sected and compared, aren't quite like that. I'm sure Jereny Isaacs — who came to opera from television, from instant whip to Cabinet pudding — is still chuntering in frustration. I'm sure the au-dience streaming out of The House tonight doesn't give a fig for what happened in Aix in the sixties. And I'm sure that the teens and twenties. blubbing or groaning out of Sabrina, haven't a clue or a thought about 1954. Play it as it lays. Don't choke in the time tube.

Gerry's truth embroidered on my heart



Bel Littleiohn

sion, and I am truly glad to be associated with the newspaper that made it. And nice timing, too. I'm talking, of course, about the Guardian's courageous stand in let-ting Mr Gerry Adams put over his point of view on this page on Monday, to tie in with the IRA explosion in Canary Wharf. Shame, in a way, that we couldn't have printed it on the Friday morn ing, so as to get people in the right mood for the evening's explosion. Sometimes, if you explain these things before hand, then ordinary decent people — newsagents, shop assistants or whatever, people not yet wholly "politicised" — feel much more at ease when they actually happen. One thing Gerry made abso-

lutely clear in that tough, straight-talking article was that he absolutely disapproves of violence in any shape or form, and would only ever sanction the murder o innocent men and women if he felt it wholly necessary to a non-violent society based on cooperation and democracy. Frankly, I wept buckets buckets — when I read Gerry revealing how his thoughts were first and foremost with the victims, because that's the kind of guy Gerry is, always thinking about his victims, old and new, past, present and future, and how to make sure there are always enough of them, so that his overriding human concern will never

Take it from me, I know Belfast and its people. So often people talk about the Northern Ireland Situation who don't; but I do. I was in that tormented yet magical island for a long wine-tasting week-end in 1971, and I was going to go again for a Van Morrison concert just six years ago — against the forces of imperial-you don't just give up on a sixm. Yet he was also always threat of a few explosions, you know — but in the end I had to cancel at the last minute owing to a suspected security scare, and I bought a live

Unlike other so-called "experts" I am also steeped in the history and politics of the

senior commentator, broadcaster and opinion-former, to comment on the delicate Ulster situation. I attack the question with a depth of informed passion ("In the words of the Paul McCartney song, let's for God's sake give Ulster back to the Northern Irish!" I announced bravely on Question Time last week) that frankly gives some of my fellow panellists — a lot of them just locals from the province, unaware of the

province, unaware of the larger international issues involved — a much-needed kick. Back to Gerry. Believe me, he's a genuinely lovely guy who hates to see a little child blown up in a necessary if regrettable retaliatory gesture against the stubborn post-colonial senirations of a discredlonial aspirations of a discred-ited British government, His moving article in Monday's Guardian offers generous comfort to the parents and friends of his victims. "At this time my thoughts are with the families of those killed and injured," he writes, movingly, "I understand the pain they are going through." Personally. I hope someone out there will embroider those beautiful words on a lovely Northern Irish linen tea-cloth, so that those of us who are forced to live far away from that wartorn province can hang them over our Agas and look to them for succour in our dark-

AN I share some very personal tales about Gerry? As a schoolboy. he proved himself a great leader of men. When his fellow pupils would start to kick one of the more obstreperous new boys in the shins, Gerry would remain calm and thoughtful. "It is wholly regrettable to me that this action was provoked by the unwarranted attitudes of the young lad in question, who must bear total responsibility for the collapse of the nonshin-kicking agreement," he would announce, viewing the kickings with an understand-ing smile, enjoying them, yes, but never condoning them. As a young man, he always had a tremendous sense of

occasion, insisting on nipping down to the barber to have his hair re-layered before waving his men off to do battle ism. Yet he was also always ing pains to insist that others less well-known than himself should be seen at the head of a Troops Out march, particu-larly if it seemed possible that the glory of full-scale battle involving death and injury might be theirs to treasure. It was no doubt his inner

Ulster situation: it was all in a | humanity that inspired him memorable poem by Seamus to write that great, heart-Heaney a few years ago, I stopping line in Monday's forget its exact title, but I read it all the way through at the time. Believe me, this sort of table and treat each other as intimate knowledge and —
yes — abiding love of a
country and its literature
never really leaves you. And
so when I am azked, as a



Trade is the tyrant

The arms-to-iraq fiasco reveals how far Western in grapacity. There is a merry-go-round here on which a dozen advanced which a dozen advanced seemed a fair enough reason which a dozen advanced seemed a fair enough reason countries will go to maintain their industrial and military potency, says Martin Woollacott

of modern democ racies. If the grandparents were Watergate and the Iran-Contra affair, now the prog-eny are all around us, from the dirty-war scandal in Spain to the Berlusconi trial in Italy and the Scott Inquiry in

Different in origin and scale as they are, and the case of the Iraq guidelines is at the low end of the scale, they are all affairs which lend themselves to handwringing. They reinforce the view that all is conspiracy, that everything divides into misleading facade and a dirty reality. Yet sensible citizens know that free politics and truth are close but uncomfortable companions. They can never part company

had at least one — the source of secret desperation is that the terms of trade, and the balance of economic power, have been turning against us for a quarter of a century. We inherit the idea that gov ernments sometimes have a duty to use trade — the giving and the withholding of it — as a means of morally shaping other societies, stopping wars, punishing tyrants, rewarding peacemakers. The difficulty is that this idea of conditionality has become more and more strongly fixed just at the moment when the strength of advanced societies is decrea unrealistic efforts to maintain both civilian and defence high technology sectors, trade is often no longer a favour that the advanced countries bestow on less devaloped societies that, like Iraq, had money to spend, or, like China, can more than they need us.

offer the attractions of a huge market and of cheap, skilled labour. We are getting to the point where we need them Behind the story of the sale of equipment to Iraq lies another, larger story, that of the increasingly tough task of maintaining advanced quasi-military economies in a less and less favourable environment. The dozen or so larger advanced nations are wedded to the idea that they must be able to support a varied high technology sector capshie of producing both complex civil-ian and military products, and maintaining sophisticated is that the desperation is sometimes as much a secret as the covert policies which spring from it. In recent scan-

HE truth crisis dals over boycotts, sanctions, constrated that the mainted has become the and arms supplies — every nance of an advanced militiating calamity large Western country has tary-industrial-intellectual nance of an advanced military-industrial-intellectual complex is becoming more and more difficult. Fewer and fewer countries can keep up anything like the whole range

anything like the whole range of advanced industry, wespons production, and the research centres to support them. This has gone far beyond the question of of not being able to produce all the military equipment that a "respectable" power should possess. Nor is it just a question of jobs. It is also a matter of owner description in the of gaps developing in the array of advanced civilian in-dustries. At a time when military technology is increas-

We are getting to the point where we need the less developed societies more than they need us

ingly dependent on civilian spin-offs rather than, as was the case for many years, the other way round, this warns of a double loss of potency. both industrial and military. This is why, incidentally, the British government's argument that the supply of nonlethal defence equipment is more permissible than that of lethal equipment, arms

proper, is wrong. Non-lethal equipment is actually more important than

countries ride. Their pretenfor abandoning some of the sions in aerospace, in commu-nications technology, in elecrestraints in place during the fighting.
The situation is probably tronics generally, in both military and civilian adworse today than it was at the vanced products, cannot be end of the eighties. Intelliindefinitely sustained. Nearly gence services in every ad-

nological equality with the United States. Chirac's recent

decision to end conscription, and the decisions which await

him on the future of French

arms manufacturing, belong

in the same category. So do
the troubles of Daimler-Benz
and of Fokker in Holland.
Even the United States, the
solitary country still able to

maintain a full military-indus-

trial base, is having difficul-ties, with President Clinton

ringing up Gulf monsrchs to sell tanks personally. Under

these circumstances trade

seems to become not a matter of profit or jobs nor of influ-

ence but of staving off the death of industries, and ulti-

mately, perhaps, of ceasing to

It may be objected that the

relatively small sums in-

volved in supplying Iraq in the late eighties can hardly

have made this kind of differ-

ence. But the question is not the amount but the mood of

the time, when the French

were picking up large arms orders and when all Western

countries were competing for

the quasi-military and purely

be an advanced economy.

vanced country are touting their services in economic esall have staged strategic retreats from certain sectors, pionage - aiming in some cases to steel one another's and gone into more and more joint projects. But still, ft is not enough.

Nobody should underestimate the frightening aspects of these developments. Even the revolution in Russia can be seen as a special instance of them, as the Soviet Union can un the struggle to make technology and in others to nip rival trade deals in the bud. The struggle for Iraq still goes on, with its former trade partners positioning themselves for a resumption of business and with most trying gave up the struggle to main-tain even a semblance of techto curry favour with the

regime.
This week Russia and Iraq signed agreements on oil exploitation, to come into effect as soon as sanctions are lifted. Iran is the subject of the same kind of wooing. China saw off President Clinton's attempt to make trade conditional on human-rights "advances" in his first year in office. Now the President signs an order permitting the sale of satellite technology to China on the same day that Chinese exports of nuclear materials to Pakistan are revealed. In Britain. the proposal to deport Moham-mad Al-Mas'ari is in clear linear descent from the days of Matrix Churchill,

If we are to resist the tyr anny of trade there are some difficult but not impossible routes to take. They include more collective action, and an end to the secret rejoicing when a trade rival "trapped" into taking a pr pled position. But the i change can only come aft national efforts to mainta penopoly of high techno civilian and military capa The attempt to do so is it probability doomed anywa certainly carries a high m



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Finance Guardian

Rentokil is forced to go public on BET bid

HE Rentokil Group was forced to announce publicly yes-terday that it was planning to make an esti-mated £1.8 billion takeover approach to BET after confiential details leaked out into the market, sending the bid target's shares soaring.

After consultation with its financial advisers and the Stock Exchange, the pest con-trol and security combine rushed out a short statement in which it confirmed that it had approached BET "with a view to discussing a recommended offer".

which had been the subject of rumour for the past few days, is aimed at creating the City's biggest business services company, with operations ranging from security to textiles and resort management. But Rentokil provided no information about how much

it was prepared to pay for the industrial services group. Nor did Clive Thompson, Rentokil's chief executive. prepared to table a

A company spokesman said: "We believe that it rangement if we were to reach agreement on the ed offer for BET." Rentokil is 52 per cent owned by Denmark's Sophus Berendsen, an international industrial conglomerate active in more than 40

BET confirmed that the offer had been received but said that it would make no in electronic security, and formal response until the has the biggest market share board had discussed the mat-ter at a meeting to be held

Rentokil

Activities as percentage of

Barings and Merrill Lynch, were yesterday helping prepare the company's response. Shares in BET yesterday soared by 34p to close at 184p, still below its year's high of 200p. Rentokil, which is being advised by Lazards, dipped

26p to 336p.

Analysts acknowledge the logic behind a considerable overlap between the two businesses. City sources said any merger would lead to thousands of job losses.

which has set itself the target of becoming the world's biggest industrial services com-pany by the next century. Mr City by meeting his goal of generating annual earnings growth of 20 per cent over the

lower-rated company, ser-vices is what Rentokil is an expert at, and it's got over the pottom of its problems and is

operating profits (£175m 1994) 25 37 10 23

RENTOKIL is much more than just a ratcatcher. The construction of a luxury the Sarawak river and the planting of 2,000 customgrown yew trees in a Wash-ington office building now go hand in hand with vermin eradication, writes Rich-

Indeed, strategic, carefully planned acquisitions in related areas — health care in the mid-1980s, troplcal plants in the late 1980s and security in the past few strong growth in its core areas have been features of Rentokil's success.

But the driving force has been an aggressive, decisive management team led by Clive Thompson, which had 20 per cent growth target for profits every year — and hit it 12 years running.

There is some cloud behind the dazzling silver lining, though. Recent profits have been boosted by benign exchange rates, interest receipts and a boom in the security business. In the short term, no one ques tions the magic 20 per cent target, but bets are off on whether the group can sustain it to the end of the cen-

tury. Rentokil has, however. already won the admiration of its peers. At the end of 1994, a poll of company directors voted the group most admired company"

Rentokil has squeezed value from the growing area of business services and won sufficient loyalty to ride out the recession. When the group took over Securiguard in 1993, for £76 million, clarion voices said the profit margins of 4 per cent spelt bad news. Three years on, margins are set to hit 10 per cent.

"It's a positive move for Rentokil if they get it at the right price," said analysts at Greig Middleton. "BET's a

on the recovery track. "If they manage to merge with BET on acceptable terms, that would give them

Rentokil could, however, rentoku could, however, find it has a tough fight because BET has been winning allies in the City. After years of cost-cutting, the group has started to invest in its highnesses. The group is the businesses. The group is the market leader within Europe in support services to the the UK textile business. In the US today. Chief executive John it is the biggest resort man Clarks broke off a visit to the agement company.

Activities as percentage of

THE 1980s were good for BET. and it has paid the price since Borrowing big to snap up more than 1,000 — often illmatched — firms, while relying on cheap labour and the hope that firms would always need cleaners and distributors, the group came badly ion struck, writes Richard

Once companies began looking for savings, contracted-out service work was one of the first places to trim. Saddled with £1 billion of debt at the beginning of the 1990s, BET resorted to emergency rights issues to survive, share values tumbled — and investors looked for a scalp.
They found it in the shape

of chief executive Nicholas Wills — succeeding his father in the job - who was kicked man in 1991, before finally owing out under intense

City pressure the next year.

At the same time, a surgeon was desperately needed to make tough decisions to save the sickly group. L John Clark arrived in 1991, and made few riends. The operations of the lisparate conglomerate were rationalised from 180 to 69. the workforce was cut from 140,000 to 87,000 and a handful tional cost-cutting measures

This rescue package was enough to save BET, but not much more. Although it is trading at a small profit again, most analysts are anxious to see more meat on the group's

transformed bones. Labour's poll leads are not helping, given that BET still relies on tight employment costs, and that Conservative reforms to local government tracted out - have been centrai to the group's resuscitation.

The takeover approach represents a big opportunity for expansion-minded Rentokil,

the added firepower to keep earnings growth going for as long as Clive Thompson is

upstairs to be executive chair-

allowing services to be con-



Farnell defeats shareholder revolt over Premier purchase

Pauline Springett sees dissenters fail to overturn £1.85bn deal for US group

ARNELL Electronics, led by chairman Richard Hanwell, yesterday dealmed at derailing its

Institutional shareholder Standard Life had spearheadad a campaign against the deal, arguing the price being offered was too high. dilution of earnings. Disability of Farnell's management to cope with the enlarged group. But the deal received 84 per

cent support at an extraordinary general meeting at the ters, comfortably ahead of the required 75 per cent.

■HE biggest monthly fall

in the cost of clothing and footwear since

ister helped send the annual inflation rate tumbling below

3 per cent last month for the first time in more than a year.

Despite signs of a pick-up in

after Christmas, data from

the need to offer huge price discounts during the January

Clothing and footwear

prices fell by 5.6 per cent last

The flerce competition in

HE "chief engineer" of

the scandal that brought

Bank of Credit and Com-

ceedings yesterday.

merce International to its

Dan Atkinson

arry Elliott

nell, will be the world's thirdlargest electronics, distributor, with annual sales of £1 billion and operating profit

Farnell's chief executive, Howard Poulson, said he was ased with the outcome: There is nothing magical about size except that it does matter in our industry." Commenting on the adverse

focus of attention shifted to a shareholder revolt and everyone lost sight of the benefit of the deal." Standard Life said in

statement: "Obviously we are disappointed. We remain concerned that the financial risks may not be in the best interests of shareholders. Our stance on the issue remains unchanged. However, we are pleased that the wide coverage of our position on this issue has encouraged debate

largest since records for the

Officials said there was some evidence that stores

selling furniture had artifi-

cially bumped up their prices by 50 per cent in December in

order to be able to boast of

50 per cent reductions in the

However, they said that the

price of electrical appliances

such as vacuum cleaners and

driven down by over-produc

tion, which had left too many

The City responded posi-tively to the inflation data, be-

Mortgage rate reductions

16 charges of false account-ing in relation to half a

billion pounds. He was

Originally, the US au-thorities wished to try Ak-

half of deposed Panamani-

Americans wish to try him

released in August 1995.

Chief engineer' of BCCI scandal challenges extradition to US

models on the market.

sector began in 1956.

winter sales.

showed that retailers still felt | tumble dryers had been

month, the biggest drop since lleving that the drop in both the 9.0 per cent fall in Febru-

any 1921. Prices are now lower than a year ago, with the annual fall of 0.7 per cent the biggest since April 1959.

knees has mounted a High Court challenge against his planned extradition to the dering drug money on be-

Sayed Akbar, ex-head of BCCI's London-based treasury operation, had been due to face extradition produced. It now seems the

Akbar was jailed for six for the theft of \$15 million Akbar years in 1993 after pleading in New York in August custody.

Inflation dips below 3 per cent

with the investors' advice specialists. Pension and Insur ance Research Consultants, said at the meeting that she did not question the industrial logic of the deal. "But can you afford to pay it? It [Farnell] is now going to go quite heavily into debt." She said it might

make more sense to opt in-stead for a merger between the two companies. Eric Hall, a former Farnell figures speak for themselves. I think they should be buying us for £10 a share, not us giv

ing Farnell to them."
While Legal and Genera also voted against the deal Farneli did receive the public support of three of its four largest shareholders — Mercury Asset Management with 14 per cent. Fleming with 5 per cent and Scottish Widows

with 6 per cent. Mr Poulson said the main downside of the deal was time. He conceded the take-

the retail sector was under-lined by a 3.0 per cent drop in down from 3.2 per cent to the next few months. The per household goods prices, the 2.9 per cent, while the yard rol price war on garage fore

stick excluding home loans payments fell from 3.0 per

cent to 2.8 per cent.
Despite the reduction, Brit-

ain's inflation rate remains

only just under the average for the 15 nations in the Euro-

pean Union and is the sixth-highest of the Group of Seven

industrialised nations, where

only Italy has a worse record.

Labour's shadow Chief Sec

retary, Andrew Smith, said

the decline in inflation was

caused by "the consequences

of economic weakness and job

insecurity, not economic

Democrat Treasury spokes-man, said: "It is no economic

miracle to have slow growth and declining inflation. Any

charges may prove impor-tant during the High Court review of the Home Secre-

tary's handling of the ex-

Yesterday, at Bow Street

Magistrates Court, Akbar's

extradition hearing was ad-

journed until March 22. His

lawyer John Hardy said:

"This was to have been a

committal hearing, but in

the intervening period a ju-

dicial review has been

Akbar was remanded in

granted."

tradition procedure.

fool can achieve that much, Ministers are cheered, howFarnell's profit-growth next year, but he said it would then recover. He said the price, which is being paid for by a mixture of cash and

A merger had been considered, but dismissed as not practical. We would have handed Farnell over to Premier for no price at all." He added: "I've probably man-aged more American businesses in my life then UK ones. I really don't have any institutional reaction, he said: "It is unusual. It's a City who has been lobbying for the thing. In this case, the whole deal to be rejected, said: "The qualma at all that we will be ow the earnings per share of this business over the next few years to the satis-

faction of our shareholders.' where else to go in the UK. He ed that the suppliers of the two companies welcomed the deal. "The whole industry

sees the sense of what we are trying to do."

The deal involves Premier's largest shareholder, its founder Mort Mandel and his family, holding the largest stake in the new company, at 17 per cent.

courts will rake 0.3 of a per

centage point off the rate next

month, and the impact of mortgage rate cuts — the big-

gest single factor behind last

month's decline - will con-

The Government yesterday unveiled plans to end 17 years

of haggling over the unem-ployment figures with a

monthly series that would bring Britain into line with

the rest of the world, writes Sarah Ryle.

However, the Central Sta-tistical Office admitted that

its scheme to sample 60,000 homes once a month in a

labour force survey would cost more than double the

26 million spent compiling

the current quarterly claim-

ant count survey, which uses eligibility for benefits as the

ner 1991 after the Bank of

England led a worldwide shutdown by regulators of

its operations in more 69

The bank was found to be

riddled with "black holes"

totalling more than \$10

London was not the offi-

cial headquarters of BCCI — the bank was based in

Luxembourg with its BCC

(overseas) offshoot run

from the Cayman Islands -

but its key treasury unit

was run from the City.

ever, by the likelihood that in- | yardstick for unemployment.

tinue to be felt.

able to maintain profits growth with unsustainable dividends and resorting to new fashions, like demerger, In the case of Rentokil/ BET, it is possible to argue

10 per cent plunge in Rentoki

not worth taking.

mop up another 10 per cent of Yorkshire-Type Tees Television. By laying claim to York-shire (without the inconvenience of a bid). Granada has effectively created the most extensive and powerful

Notebook

Synergy theory fails to attract



Edited by Alex Brummer

AD Michael Lawrence still been chief execu-tive of the Stock Ex-change, investors would have been assured that the sharp movements in the share price offer from glamour stock Ren-tokil, would have been fully investigated and the results of the inquiry published.

As matters stand, the 7.5 per cent rise in BET by working together closely, shares on Wednesday. The prices achieved for proall accounts Rentokil has been rushed by the insiders into an announcement.

Putting that to one side, Rentokil now joins the elite band of highly rated compa-nies — Granada is another which propose to use their strong branding skills, man-agement provess and instituagement provess and institu-tional backing to build ever stronger and more broadly based empires through acqui-sition. It is quickly forgotten-however, that the glamour stocks of the last decade, like Hanson, have become the dinosaurs of the mid-1990s, un-

synergy. Both companies are heavily into the office services sector, although BET sprawls into transport, security and employment agencies. It will be possible, presumably, for the same team watering and fertilising the Rentokil plants to clean offices and change the Initial towers. However, even after the rationalisation that has taken place at BET in the 1990s, as management sought to come to grips with its con-siderable problems, it remains a diverse, under-per-forming enterprise. This contrusts with Rentokil's extraordinary profits record and margins derived from a strong focus on a limited range of services. The near

shares suggests that some investors believe BET is a risk

Media hype

PRCULATION that Granada's head had been irrevocably turned by the Forte world of hotels was quashed with the foray to programme library in ITV.
The strategy to build up programming is correct. With hundreds of stations waiting in the wings, content will be coming months as tax changes increasingly valuable. Gra- affect pay packets.

nada won't have to mess around selling the odd pro-gramme; it will be in a position to flog entire channels

But the £10 a share being paid looks rich, even though YTTTV's average price (and Granada already owned 14 per cent of Yorkshire) is lower. The recent takeover hype has put a value of more than £515 million on Yorkshire, which managed profits of only £7 million in the first half of last year. Figures will, however, benefit if the Gov-

eroment in next year's review
looks kindly on Yorkshire
and reduces the large cash
franchise fee it pays.
Even so, Granada could
have its work cut out to justify paying so much, particularly when Yorkshire has made many cost savings and the companies already benefit

pointed. If the future proliferation of broadcasters means that most of them are pretty impoverished, they simply won't be able to pay fancy prices, however seductive the idea of a Coronation Street

channel might seem. The value of any company, s what a bidder is prepared to pay. But once again the media sector is in danger of looking everly generous with its shareholders' modey.

Clarke's credit

ECENT gossip at West-minster has centred on the possibility that Ken-neth Clarke's days at the the basis of the economic data out this week, Tory MPs are crazy to undermine the Chancellor's position.

Consider the evidence. On Monday, we had the biggest one-month fall in the inflation rate for manufactured goods there was some tentative evigood lead indicator — night be on the way up. On Wednesday, unemployment fell for the 29th month in a row and mitted it was in error over in-

Yesterday, it was revealed splurge in December and Jan uary, retail prices fell last month, taking the annual inflation rate below 3 per cent for the first time since Decem-

ber 1994: All Mr Clarks needs to round off a perfect week is news today that bumper cor-poration tax receipts provided the Treasury with a healthy surplus last month. making the £29 billion Budget PSBR forecast look feasible. also likely to help Mr Clarke. First, the talk about the economy falling back into recession has been overdone. This is a stock-cycle correction, nothing more. Second, the Government may at last be about to glean some political credit from sconomic growth. Earnings growth has in recent months been insufficient to maintain living standards. That will be reversed over the

Gas council to investigate Sweb 'pressure selling'

Tony May

AN INVESTIGATION is to be launched into "pressur ised and misleading doorster selling practices" by the gas distribution arm of South West Electricity Board, the US-controlled power distribution company, the Gas Consumers Council said yesterday.

The council, an official con-

sumer watchdog, said it had received complaints that some SWEB Gas representatives might be putting undue pressure on people to sign documents which, unknown to them, turn out to be con tracts for a gas supply.

The 500,000 const Devon. Cornwall and Somer set are being approached by rival gas suppliers ahead of government-sponsored scheme which allows them to choose their supplier from

off period". consumer realises his mis-take and telphones to cancel.

Italy 2,395 Maita 0.5425 Netherlands Netherlands 2,465 New Zealand 2.23

Ian Powe, the council's di-rector, said that allegations included: Consumers being asked:

"Just sign here, we'll fill in the details and send you more information." People believe the form is a request for information when it is a contract.

Oral promises of higher discounts than are actually available.

Use of intimidating language like: "You are about

the only person in the area who hasn't signed up." Misleading statmenets like The only reason you have to sign is so that I can show my No copy of the signed docu-ment left with the consumer.

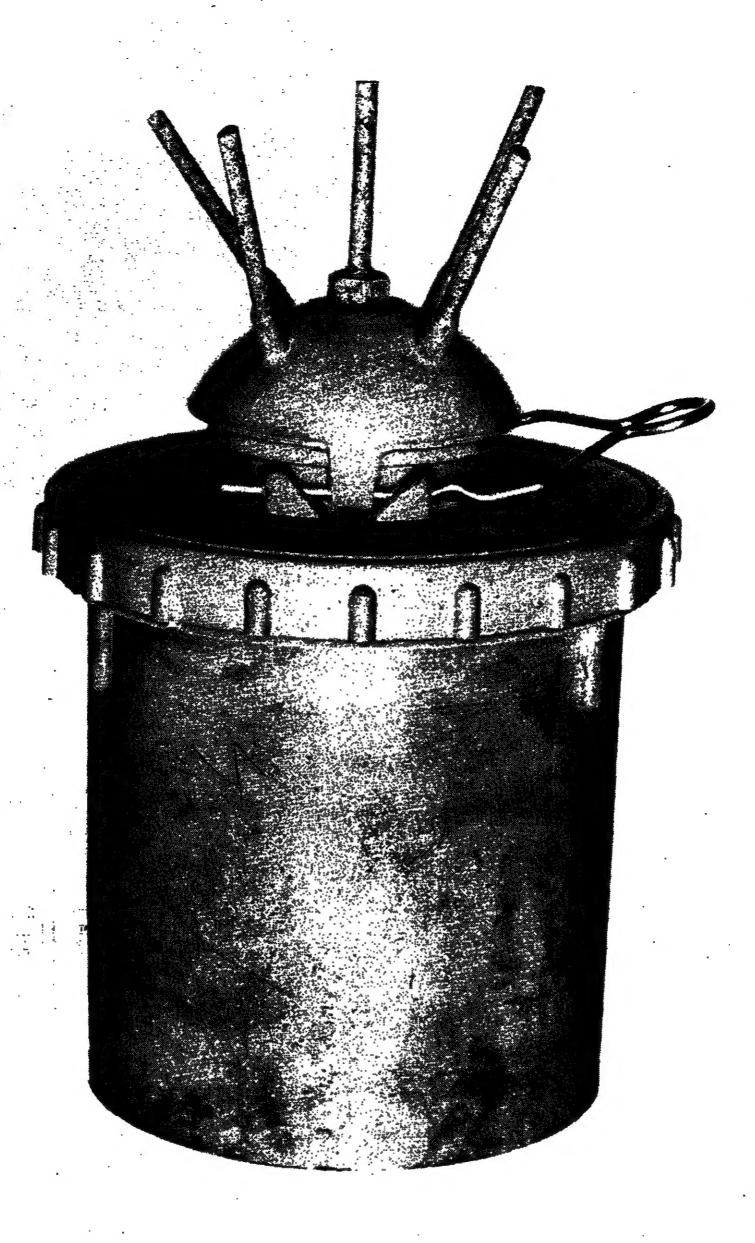
 No mention of a "cooling • Refusal to send written confirmation that the contract is cancelled after the

TOURIST RATES - BANK SELLS France 7.50 Austria 15.25 Germany 2.195 Greece 369 00 Belglum 45.00 Canada 2.0625 Cyprus 0 7075 Denmark 8.50 Ireland 0.9575 Finland 6.99 Israel 4,78

Portugal 228.50

Singapore 2.13 South Africa 5.44 Spain 184 00 ... Sweden 10.59

dard-begg



British off Lis subject upmon class

-

The Valmara 69 'bounding' anti-personnel landmine as used by Iraq in the Gulf War. One small movement of the trip wire sends the main body of the mine half a metre into the air, blasting 1,000 ball-bearings in every direction at over 1,000 mph. Anyone within a twenty five metre radius will be torn to pieces. These devices can be linked together in order to increase the kill radius. Valmara 69 landmines cost just £30 each.

Between 1981 and 1990 certain banks used hundreds of millions of pounds of their customers' money to finance the supply of arms to both Iran and Iraq.

The Co-operative Bank would like to offer reassurance to its customers that we did not, and will not finance the sale of arms to Iraq, Iran or any other oppressive regime. This statement forms part of an ethical policy, developed in consultation with our customers.

The Valmara 69 landmine shown above was one of 20,000 mines cleared from Iraq by The Mines Advisory Group, a registered charity which works to 'return mined land to the community world-wide'. The Mines Advisory Group is a customer of The Co-operative Bank. If you would like to make a donation towards their work, please call them direct on 01900 828580.

The COPERATIVE BANK

Why bank with one that isn't?

YGDOWS Parage O/O O STOO

US calls

Bosnia

summit

America has summoned the three leaders who signed the

Dayton peace accord to a summit in Rome tomorrow in

an attempt to overcome the

impasse in Bosnia and pre-

vent the accord unravelling

Italy, which holds the Euro-pean Union presidency, has

been chosen as the venue of

the first of what are planned

as regular meetings between the Presidents of Croatia, Ser-

bia and Bosnia. The tension in

Mostar and Croatian opposi-tion to the work of Hans

Koschnick, the EU-appointed administrator, are high on the

Pakistan arms

deal threatened

Washington: The Clinton Ad-

ministration, locked in a row

with Pakistan over its suspect-

ed purchase of nuclear equip-

ment from China, has said

that shipments to Islamabad

of American military aircraft

and arms may be delayed

During a visit to Washing-ton this week Nawaz Sharil, the former Pakistani Prime

Minister, appealed to the

White House to ignore its own

Tom Rhodes writes).

(Michael Binyon writes).

T. Buchanan hit by linking of aide to extremist groups

From Martin Fletcher in Nashua, New Hampshire

PAT BUCHANAN'S surging presidential campaign ran into trouble yesterday when a Washington watchdog group linked one of his four campaign co-chairmen to the militia and white supremacist

Mr Buchanan said the cochairman, Larry Pratt, denied the charges and had temporarily left the campaign to disprove them, but the allega-tions reinforced charges of extremism being levelled at

With five days left before the

the right dinner is more

important than winning". Although recorded in 1989

Rival derides Dole

FROM TOM RHODES IN WASHINGTON

THE contents of previously undisclosed tapes involving discussions between Newt Gingrich, the House Speaker, and his allies revealed a series of negative comments about Robert Dole yesterday.

In the tapes, which were published by the Los Angeles Times. Mr Gingrich and his conservative activists scorned the senator for shunning their crusade to plot the Republi-

Mr Gingrich described Mr Dole as one of a significant number of Republican senators "committed to a minority values system in which being pleasant and being invited to

by other Republican candidates. Robert Dole, the Senate leader, launched an advertisement suggesting Mr Buchanan wanted to give South Korea nuclear weapons and quoting him once saying that women are simply not endowed by nature with the measure of single-minded ambition and the will to succeed". The narrator concludes: "He's too extreme. He can't beat Bill

and 1990, the tapes can only further undermine attempts by the Senate majority leader to secure his party's presiden-tial nomination after a weak victory in the Iowa caucuses. Mr Dole, who is campaigning in the critical New Hampshire primary, was described by Mr Gingrich at meetings of the political action commit-

tee as a person who "frankly doesn't give a damn" about fighting for conservative causes and a reactionary elder overseeing a "passive, back-ward-oriented" party faction.

candidates were last night holding a final televised de-bate, and a flurry of new polls showed support for Steve Forbes plummeting while Mr Buchanan and Lamar Alexander close on Mr Dole. Mr Forbes's predicament was obvious from the media scrum that greeted him when he arrived for a Rotary Club

lunch in picturesque Milford on Wednesday. In size it matched those he attracted before his disastrous fourth place in Monday's Iowa caucuses. However, this time the journalists were not there because the free-spending publisher was the "hot" candidate, but because they scented blood. They pinned Mr Forbes against the side of his bus and skewered him with questions. Had he messed up? Would he stay in the race? Mr Forbes acknowledged errors and said he was ending the negative advertisements voters so abhorred. As each of his 9,816 votes in Iowa cost \$400 (£260) that seemed a shrewd

Mr Alexander is the new "hot" candidate. On Wednesday night, despite a fearful snowstorm, the villagers of Londonderry packed their church hall to hear the former Tennessee Governor and converts wearing his trade mark red-and-black checked shirt suddenly seemed everywhere.



This was transparently a man on a high. He spoke and answered questions for more than an hour. He was unable to name the price of milk, an embarrassing slip for a candi-date who claims to be from the "real world" outside Washington, but capped an otherwise virtuoso performance by playing Alexander's Ragtime Band and God Bless America on the piano. He ended Wed-

nesday in the living room of the Pfaff family in the village of Hooksett. Mr Alexander stood before the fire. The Pfaffs and their neighbours sat around on sofas. "I have new ideas, Senator Dole has no ideas and Pat Buchananhas wrong ideas," he told

Another measure of Mr Alexander's rise is the appearance of the muckrakers. Newspapers reported on how Mr Alexander parlayed his political status into a \$3 miltion fortune through

"sweatheart" deals. While there have been no gestions of illegality, some of the Alexander family's windfalls make Hillary Rodham Clinton's ability to turn a \$1,000 investment in hog belly futures into \$100,000 look like winning the pot in

Mr Dole is running the classic frontrunner's campaign, piling up endorsements and avoiding gaffes. He is taking this to ridiculous extremes. He called a press conference for William Weld, Governor of Massachussetts. and George Allen, Governor

intelligence and complete the \$368 million (£240 million) weapons deal authorised by Congress last year. of Virginia, to endorse him, but did not attend. Voters stay away

in Bangladesh

Dhaka: Huge numbers of Bangladeshi voters stayed away from parliamentary elections, frightened by violence in which at least 14 people were killed, or observing an opposition hoycott. Despite a show of force by nearly 300,000 security personnel just six to 12 per cent of sonnel, just six to 12 per cent of voters turned out in many places. However, Begum Khalida Zia, the Prime Minister, said she was pleased with the process. She has said she will form the next government even if there is a turnout of only 10 per cent. (Reuter)

Trial of Rabin's killer adjourned

Jerusalem: The trial of Yigal Amir, 25, the self-confessed assassin of Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli Prime Minister, was adjourned until March 3 to enable him to undergo more psychiatric tests ordered by Edmund Levy, the trial judge (Christopher Walker writes). Amir's lawyers said the tests could lead to a new defence strategy focused on his emotional state at the time of the

Grozny: Russian soldiers used

Kabul: Up to 60 people were killed and scores injured in Kabul when a huge blast in a

Swedish boy 'is Mitterrand's son'

FROM BEN MACINTYRE IN PARIS

A SWEDISH journalist and close friend of the late Francois Mitterrand claims she is being hounded by the European press over rumours that the former President may be the father of her son, seven, to a French magazine.

Christina Forsne, the former Paris correspondent for a Swedish newspaper, has re-fused to deny Mitterrand is the father of Ravn. VSD reported vesterday.

Mitterrand acknowledged

EAGGine. VAT (Far-12008)

daughter, Mazarine Pingeot, 21. Both she and her mother, Anne Pingeot, attended the Socialist leader's funeral last

Alongside photographs of Ms Forsne and her son, the magazine reproduced an ambiguous interview she gave to the Swedish newspaper Aftonbladet, in which she said she had been "very close" to Mitterrand but declined to say whether he was the father of

"I think I have my own the existence of an illegitimate reasons for neither confirming

nor denying the claims," she was reported as saying. "I don't want my son mixed up in

Ms Forme has gone into hiding, claiming that journalists and photographers have descended on her homes in Paris and Anjou, as well as her son's school in the Swedish city of Gothenburg. She is believed to have left Paris at least six months before Mitterrand's death on Janu-

When asked whether she knew Danielle Mitterrand, Ms Forsne reportedly replied that the former President's widow "is more than aware of iv existence".

The suggestion that the boy is Mitterrand's son is open to serious doubt. The child pictured in the magazine is blond, whereas all the former President's three children have dark colouring.

In 1989, when Ravn was conceived. Mitterrand was undergoing intensive treatment for prostate cancer, of which impotence is a common side-



Samper: convinced that

Samper charged over poll

FROM DAVID ADAMS

PRESIDENT SAMPER of Colombia is one step closer to impeachment after the Attorney-General charged him with drug-related electoral

The President's fate now lies in the hands of Congress, which is controlled by Senor Samper's ruling Liberal Party. The charges were presented to a congressional committee. which must decide whether there is sufficient evidence for impeachment. He is the first President to face such charges. Señor Samper reacted imm-

ediately saying he was "absolutely calm", and convinced that there is no evidence. Some observers agree, but few believe he is innocent. The latest group to question the his word is the Roman Catholic

Serior Samper's party is accused of receiving more than \$6 million (£3.8 million) from the Cali cocaine cartel to

Bargain bonanza as Dubai stages world's biggest sale

By Michael Binyon, diplomatic editor

shops in the tiny emirate of Dubai were flung open yesterday as the biggest sale in the

cameras, Parisian silk scarves and all the goods traditionally found in the world's most unlikely retailing capital are there to be snapped up.

Shopping in Dubai, once a quiet backwater where only bronzed pearl-divers broke the tranquil rippies of daily life, has long been a national obsession. Smuggling has fattened the economy, and now the little emirate - part of the United Arab Emirates ranks as one of the world's top tourist destinations. Before 1970, Dubai was

little more than a collection of low, mud-built houses. Oil transformed everything. But the gush of money is limited: Dubai's oil reserves are likely to run out in 2005. Retailing is the hope for future prosperity, and the emirate's sale is an attempt to boost that trade. Though the summer tem-

peratures may top 50 C (122 F), air conditioning in the miles of marble malls has made shopping bearable even then, and in the depths of winter the air is a balmy 22 C (71 F) and the sea still tempting. The six-week festival is

THE doors of more than 2,000 dirhams (£178 million), and the cost of hotels and services may bring in seven times as much — a staggering sum for a country with a population of

Thousands of bargain hunt- \$50,000.

ers — inclination discuss of Dubai has long boasted that Britons and paper the size of the prices are the lowest in the are flocking to the Gulf to take world. The lure for its neighare flocking to the Gulf to take world. The lure for its neigh-advantage of compulsory bours in the north, especially price cuts of up to 70 per cent. in former communist coun-There was no need to haggle tries, is irresistible, and virtuas all Dubai became a giant ally every snowy Siberian souk. Gold, silver, Japanese town or Uzbek market ställ town or Uzbek market stall sells garments, watches and electronics taken back in casefuls by planeloads of Russians and Central Asians.

Dubai has asked cultural icons from its favourite shopping nations to give the festi-val a boost. The Moscow State Philharmonic Orchestra, the St Petesburg Ballet and Julian Lloyd Webber, the British cellist, have been invited. America will be represented by Minnie Mouse and 29 companions.

But such flights of cultural fancy are probably far from the minds of the 300,000 foreign shoppers. They are more likely to be lured by the sporting programme Dubai has laid on: the Tennis Open. which started yesterday, the Dubai Desert Classic golf tournament from March 14-17, and the world's richest horse race, with a purse totalling £2.500 - the Dubai World

Dubai's rulers have long been sport and shopping cra-zy. Sheikh Muhammad bin Rashid al-Maktoum owns more thoroughbred racehorses than any other breeder in the world. Cricket is also making inroads among the huge immigrant population from India and Pakistan.

Cup on March 27.

Russians raze Grozny palace

high explosive to demolish Chechenia's ruined presidential palace, a symbol of resis-tance to Russian troops in the regional capital. Troops and armoured cars sealed off central Grozny for the demolition, which was said to be for safety reasons. (Reuter)

Kabul depot blast kills 60

munitions depot at the Afghan presidential palace ripped through the war-torn city,

Fax-1200P and Fax-1700P finance his 1994 election camdesigned to lure almost 1.5 paign. The charges also inmillion shoppers from every clude illicit enrichment and obstruction of justice. continent. They are expected we started with a plain sheet of paper. to spend more than a billion

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When we designed the Brother



Prince weds Puerto Rican bellydancer

BY QUENTIN LETTS

ONE of pop music's oddest figures, the singer once known as Prince, has wed in quixotic manner. His wife is a Puerto Rican bellydancer. Mayte Garcia.

Prince no longer answers to that name, preferring to be known by an unutterable symbol. This presented difficulties for the exchange of vows, so when Miss Garcia wanted to indicate the identity of her husband-to-be (as in "1, Mayte Garcia, take thee ... to be my lawful, wedded husband, she pointed to a entation of Prince's symbol that she was wearing around her neck. The Rev Keith Johnson, officiating, made allowances as he is an

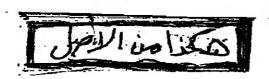
old friend of the groom. The wedding was planned for Paris, but owing to bureaucratic delays, was eventually held at a church in

the couple amounced their marriage on the Internet. As the 30-minute service proceeded, a page on the Internet gradually depicted a psychedelic image of the happy couple, surrounded by purple patches, symbols and manacles. "Welcome to the dawn," it announced, "coincidence or fate?" Prince's musical colleagues in the New Power Generation Orchestra composed a symphony, Kama Sutra, to celebrate the wedding on St Valentine's Day.

It was not disclosed if Miss Garcia, who is a dancer in Prince's band, will take her husband's non-name. The couple left the church under a canopy that covered the dis-tance from the church door to the waiting limousine, frus-trating photographers and numerous fans.

A reception was held at a recording studio in the Min-





Rugby Union

Bristol eyes on **Butland**

Robert Armstrong

RISTOL have targeted Richard Butland of Bath as their first-choice fly-half for next season should they lose the Welsh international Arwel Thomas to Harlequins.
Butland, who is likely to

play against Bristol in next week's Pilkington Cup quarter-final at the Memorial Ground, is eager to play regular Courage League One football — which Bristol can guaran-tee — in order to develop his burgeoning international career. Bristol believe they can

improve upon any financial package that the cash-strapped Bath offer But-land at the end of the season, even though they cannot match the £250,000, four-year deal that Quins have dangled in front of the

21-year-old Thomas.
Gloucester, too, are queueing to take advantage of Bath's financial plight by Kingsholm to link up with his Scotland team-mate Ian Smith in the back row.
"We are vulnerable to

substantial offers to our players because we are unable to attract the seven-figure investment several clubs have been getting," said a Bath committee

has been given plenty to think about by Mike Catt's decision to switch from No. 10 to full-back at club level to further his England career. Bath fear they could also lose Catt if they do not give him regular first-team football.

However Catt, who only three months ago declared his ambition to be England's fly-half in the 1999 World Cup, may be per-suaded to stay at No. 10 for Bath if they keep faith with Jonathan Callard at full-

If Thomas, who also interests Wasps and Leices-ter, does leave Bristol, But-land will be presented with a clear set of options after spending most of the season in the Bath United side. If Butland switched allegiance he could form a profarmershir England scrum-half Kyran

Bath intend to present a long-term business plan to me by their reactions after their members at a special the defeat in Scotland," he meeting on March 11.

 Simon Geoghegan, the Bath wing, has withdrawn from Ireland's team to play hamstring has not responded to treatment. His place goes to Richard Wal-lace (Garryowen).



Shuffled pack . . . Skrela adds to France's scrummaging burden during training at Clairefontaine yesterday Photograph Michel Lipchitz

had more hands-on experi-

ence as an homme de terrain

than France's last three

or unexpected, is not going to

change his vision of the game.

His ideal was most closely

realised at Toulouse, where

Defeat, however unple

coaches put together.

Skrela and defeat member yesterday. Butland, an England A fly-half who scored a match-winning try for Bath in last Saturday's cup win. Sting the Blues

Ian Borthwick in Paris reports on the national coach's efforts to repair France's fractured vivacity and bonhomie

XV gathers at their federation offices on the Thurs-day before a match they are usually a picture of cheery bonhomie, smiles and hand-shakes all round. Yesterday morning in Paris, however, as they attacked a late breakfast of strong black coffee and miniature pastries, there was a definite whiff of internal hension in the air.

Jean-Claude Skrela, the coach, seemed jumpy and irri-table, while after a hard-hitting interview published in the sports daily L'Equipe, the captain Philippe Saint-André the pungent comments directed at his own team-mates. "They really disappointed

said. "Everyone was trying to justify themselves and point the finger at the other man. "If we were a real team we should have dealt with it among ourselves, said a few things to one another eye to

HEN the French they all went solo. What sad-KV gathers at dens me is that they weren't attack. He has always been an advocate of 15-man running rugby, and having coached Toulouse alongside Pierre Villepreux in the 1980s, has adult enough to clean up their own backyard before looking at their neighbours."

Saint-André is now trying

to effect repairs. "Just be-cause we lost at Murrayfield two weeks ago it now appears that French rugby no longer exists and that we no longer have any great players. Let's get serious: we were beaten by a team that was better than us on the day and because in the backs of our minds we thought that the Scots would be easy."

Skrela is still coming to terms with what he calls the on him a fortnight ago. "I know the sort of investment and the commitment you need to succeed at this level. Some players just didn't have it. I keep hearing that we were beaten because the Scots had more enthusiasm and more desire to win. It's sim-

ply not normal." Despite indifferent performances against England and eye and got it over with. But Scotland, Skrela refuses to instead of sticking together consider changing his plan of Skrela...prince of the Parc scrums, jumping in line-outs

technicians over the past

Principally it is the work of

John Barnard, the English chassis designer now in the

fourth year of his second spell

with the team, and Paolo Martinelli, the Italian engine man

three years.

fancy theories to know why we lost against Scotland," Skrela said. "We lost because we were no good. "Why change anything? My objectives remain the same, and because we played badly

There is no need for any

in Edinburgh we are not sud denly going to resort to kick-ing up-and-unders all afternoon. We lost against Scotland for psychological reasons and because the players were unable to react and to rise above themselves.

Some say many of the players are still having difficulty adapting to Skrela's system after four years of Pierre Berbizier. As usual for a French national coach, Skrela finds himself treading the fine line between the need for results and the need to please the fussy French public, for whom anything less than an orgy of tries against Ireland, victory by 30 points and a fes-tival of jeu à la française will

be a failure. It's true that I want to win playing a spectacular brand of rugby. But this French the true values of the game: instead of thinking what they are going to do with third-phase ball they should first concentrate on getting some decent first-phase ball.

His task, as the French pre-pare for the match at the Parc des Princes, has been to take them back to the fundamentals. "Playing rugby is not just throwing the ball about;

his team won national titles | and making first-up tackles in 1985, 1986 and 1989. | that count, So before we talk about being creative in the backs let's think about win-ning the ball first."

Skrela has made a number of changes to the pack de-signed mostly to boost their mobility and pace around the field. The front row is re-shuffled, with Christian Califano moving from tight to loose head and a 23-year-old prop from Narbonne, Franck Tour-

naire, coming in for his first game in the championship.

Abdelatif Benazzi replaces
Olivier Merle in the second
row, thus leaving a place vacant in the back row. Although already equipped with one flyer in Laurent Ca-bannes, Skrela has gone for another by choosing Richard Castel (Toulouse) for his first

"For me a wing forward's job is to be where the ball is for 80 minutes," Skrela said. "I think these two are perfectly suited to the job."

But all those changes, plus the arrival of the bubbling Olivier Campan at centre and the shifting of Thomas Cas-taignede to fly half, will mean nothing if the French fail to rediscover their vivacity, the enthusiasm and the passion that made them everyone's championship.

"If you're not hungry enough, if you are already beaten in the desire to win, there is no point prattling on about anything," Skrela said. "You might as well just play friendly games and as far as I remember, Test matches are not friendlies."

SPORTS NEWS 15



Extra time Edited by Jeremy Alexander Richardson bats for his dinner

West Indian cricketers will return to England for the summer: Ambrose to Northamptonshire, Walsh to Gloucestershire. Hooper to Kent ... Richardson to Lashings. At 34 Richie Richardson. possibly captain of the World Cup winners by then, has opted to play this summer for a club side based on a restau-

rant in Maidstone.

The deal was fixed and faxed from Hyderabad on Wednesday. It was set up through Masters International, business advisers to several of the West Indies team, and is a coup for David Folb, 35-year-old owner of Lashings and a property com-pany. He and Richardson were supposed to sign last week at Heathrow, as the West Indians passed through on their way to the cup, but the squad was delayed. Modern technology caught up with a man of ancient

orinciples. Richardson, struggling to naintain decent authority in the West Indies dressingroom, is looking forward to life after pressure — public relations appeals — and a return to cricket for pleasure. Poor health attended his foray into the county grind with Yorkshire. League cricket in the North. an obvious alternative, imposes stern

He will be Folb's "main promotional person" this summer. do some coaching in schools and be paid for all that. He will get nothing for playing 40-odd matches: 40 overs on Saturdays, 45 on Sundays, 16 eight-ballers on midweek evenings, Lashings are holders of the Evening cup. Founded in 1989, they beat The Mote, founded in 1857, in the final, But Folb says "he should make the first team". More equivocally, "he won't be charged a sub". Sundays, 16 eight-ballers on

'he won't be charged a sub". Lashings run soccer, rugby, netball and basketball teams and sponsor Maidstone hockey club; the Lashings Sluggers play in baseball's national league; and the cricket team have attracted overseas cricketers before. Last summer Muralitharan was called up, but not out. Gary Kirsten has played twice. Paul, his brother, did a full summer, with coaching, and made 450 in three unbeaten in-nings on his first weekend.

Richardson has something to live up to. His home ground will be Cobdown, his first match — on May 12 when Yorkshire play Derbyshire — at New Ash Green. The very names are restorative.

team-mate who has an adver-

tising agency. "We decided to go to the other extreme from

the beautiful and Strickers

immediately came to mind.

First he thought it was a leg-

pull but he's taken to it like a

natural." For an out-of-work

quantity surveyor "the going

BRAZIL's Olympic soccer team should be in good voice for their opening quali-

fying match on Sunday

against Peru. The training orders from Mario Zagallo

went beyond fitness and

skills. The coach issued song

sheets with the words of the

national anthem. "It's very

ugly when television shows

players lined up with their mouths closed," he said. The

singing of England and Wales

at Twickenham this month

was exemplary — in vigour at

RUGBY's heavyweights have it this week. A pub full of farmers and builders

recently raised a team to take on the local side, Bromyard of

the North Midlands First Div-

one of the lightweights at 18

stone. We have six people

over 20 stone, so we knew that, if we could get them running in the right direc-

tion, we would stand a chance." Nor do they breed

them few. "My grandparents had 18 children and everyone

in the team is related to them.

The Lairy Legges, who issued the challenge, drink at the Crown and Sceptre. A

crowd of 250 at the club's Min-

tridge Farm ground saw the regular rugby players beat the regular drinkers 15-10, serving

RANK WARREN will be at Rocket Gallery on Tues-

day for the opening of Heavy-

weight Portraits: Explora-

tions of Male Psychology.

Szenassy, an Australian who works in oil on wood. Warren

has commissioned another 15 of the Ali-Frazier fight of 1971

to mark its 25th anniversary.

They go on show in Las Vegas

patron than a company direc-

I had 37 men to choose from."

least, if not tune.

rate" has come in handy

column

ation wonders why it has difficulty finding sponsors, it might look at the marketing company Alan Pascoe Assoes in the 60 metres: is Jason

mitted on September 2. Time was allowed for consideration. Though the BSC reckons to take "a commonsense approach, not overly politically correct", a Mori poli rates "nigger" fourth among terms of abuse and the worst non-sexual term. It was accepted that Jim McGrath, the offender, was talking un-scripted (on Racing: The Morning Line). He was referring to a horse - an outsider

N the new era of open rugby there is hope still for the 21stone, bald prop forward with a goatee beard. Convention demands tight bottoms and perfect pecs on male models but the lifestyle clothing stockists Capolito Roma have departed from it. Paul Strick-land, already looking down from the sides of Birmingham buses. fills whole pages of men's magazines next month.



Strickland . . . prop's pose

F the British Athletic Feder-

ciates, who were trying this week to whip up interest in the McDonald's International in Glasgow on February 24. Numerous mis-spellings of athletes were the least of their solecisms. The high jump includes Steve Smith and Steve Dalton — or, as it may be, Dalton Grant. John Jason John now running backwards? And there are rising stars in the men's and women's pole volt. The competition should be electrifying perhaps also for the job of marketing the sport.

HE Broadcasting Stanviewer's complaint about the expression "a nigger in the woodpile", used in a programme on Channel 4. This is ision. All 15 were from the same family, Legge, and the front row weighed 56 stone. reported in the BSC's Complaints Bulletin of January The captain, Mike Legge, 45, said: "We don't breed them small in our family. I'm 31, "concerning taste and de cency". The offence was com-

He is new king of the lion-walk — with a small L, of course. Unlike Guscott he plays for Camphill 3rd XV. The idea came from John Taplin, a former Camphill

> THE Daily Mail's Jeff Pow-ell condemning Australia's cricketers for not going to Colombo, dares them to mention whingeing Poms again and evokes "Our Fred Trueman", who "understood that his part of the bargain was to answer his country's call whenever and wherever it came". Fortunately for Our Fred it never came to the sub-continent in a 13-year Test career. The selectors spared him from the eight-Test tour to India and Pakistan in 1961-2 to prepare for his benefit season in 1962.

BURY PRESS unveiled the cover of The Official Book for Euro 96 this week, "the complete guide" due out on April 4. Uncertain, when they had to decide, if Venables would still be in charge of England, they played safe with a player on the cover. David Platt is their choice.

Sport in brief

Tennis

Tim Henman came close to before going down 6-1, 3-6. 6-1 to the world No. 12 Sergi Open last night. The 21-year-old British champion, ranked 78th, held the 25-year-old Spaniard until the final their second-round clash.

The unseeded 20-year-old Claire Taylor breezed into the semi-finals of the LTA women's satellite event in Sheffield when she over-whelmed the Dutch qualifier Debby Haak 6-2, 6-0.

Skiing

The race official who skied into the path of the downhiller Tatiana Lebedeva and caused a high-speed training crash at the Alpine world champion-slups in the Sierra Nevada, Spain, said he had a "black-out". The US official Harald sian's right leg and his own left leg. "He says he had a blackout and is very de-pressed," said the International Ski Federation spokesman Christian Knauth.

5 50M

The five-times Open champion Tom Watson said his efforts on the green "stank like seven-day-old fish" after his 87 putts in the first round of the Australian Masters in Melhourne. The Open champion John Daly also had a disastrous round and the American pair stumbled to four-over par 7s on the tight Huntingdale lay-out to trail the leaders by 10 shots.

Sailing

John Merricks and lan Walker. Britain's Olympic gold medal prospects in Atlanta this year, began to show their true form in the 470 class world championship, scoring two firsts and a ninth in their last three races to be lying second overall at the halfway stage of the competition in Porto Alegre, Brazil, writes

Schumacher takes the new Boxing Ferrari for a spin in public

Continued from back page

to look back. We should interpret the past, not be its prisoner." He said that the annual budget for the constant evolution of Ferrari's racing team, which is probably in the region of £100 million, comes in equal parts from sponsors and from the sale of 3,000 road

Agnelli expressed confidence in the health of the operation: "We sell Ferraris to sultans who buy them 10 at a time, and we also sell them in Moscow and Beijing. It's a great commercial success.

Old Enzo, who liked selling cars to Hollywood stars, would have enjoyed the sound spinning like one of his own engines in the family tomb, in Modena's San Cataldo cemetery at the news that the team's latest sponsor is Asprey, the Bond Street bijoutier now owned by a brother of the Sultan of Brunei.

When he was alive, the only sponsors allowed to put a logo on the car were those who had made some technical con-tribution: manufacturers of brakes, ignition systems, tyres or petrol. The sole ex-ception was Marlboro, since Philip Morris paid the drivers' retainers. There was a lot of guff spoken yesterday about how the two companies shared common aims, but the exact nature of the technical input expected from the Queen's jeweller was not

forthcoming. Yet no amount of commercial nonsense could entirely obscure the meaning of the day, and it was easy to sympa-thise with the enthusiasm of Jean Todt, the gritty little French team manager brought in by Montezemolo two years ago with instructions to sort out the Scuderia's Byzantine structure and

"It's a moment of incredible emotion," Todt said, "because this car is the result of the constant work of all Ferrari's | a race yet."

Welch anger at Bugner KO

Commonwealth Council, who | and Commonwealth cham would not list him among the | pion was "very disappointed"

who has drawn up the com-pact V10 engine with the aid of a former Honda specialist, Osamu Goto. The appearance of this engine has distressed purists who imagine that God meant Ferraris to have 12 cylinders Not only the purists will miss the stirring wall of the old V12, a full octave higher than mentally shows that Ferraris have also won world champi

cylinders.
Yesterday Barnard, who campaigned for the new con-figuration against the opposi-tion of traditionalists within the team, was quietly relish-ing the change, which has enabled him to create a more efficient aerodynamic

onships with engines featur-ing four, six and eight

"I'm hoping it won't feel very different to the drivers from last year's car," Barnard said. "Because that one had good qualities in terms of driveability. This one just needs to be two seconds a lap quicker.

It was dusk before Schu macher took the car out for its first half-dozen laps of the tight little test track, its brake discs lighting up in the gloom and the bellow of the new

V12 in terms of performance, Schumacher had said earlier we'll be much better off. I'm very happy with the

Bugner". A few weeks ago Bugner's hopes of a fight in Britain were blocked by the the former British, European

engine echoing off the walls of the nearby factories. "The V10 is not far off the 'Now, and since there's a lot more to come from it I think

situation." So realism reigns. And as Agnelli said to Montezemolo before helicoptering out of Fiorano: "Let's enjoy this car today. After all, it hasn't lost

The promoter Frank War-

ren, who planned to stage the

Welch-Bugner fight on March 23, 10 days after Bugner's 46th

birthday, will urge the board to reconsider their decision.

Don Beet

COTT WELCH, the British and Commonwealth heavyweight champion, says he will sue the Board of Control for scuppering his fight against Joe Bugner, to whom they have decided they

cannot grant a licence.
Bugner was to have chal-lenged Welch for his World Boxing Organisation intercontinental title in Britain next month and the Brighton boxer is ready to issue a writ for restraint of trade and loss of earnings.
"This would have been the

biggest purse of my career." said Welch, who owns two rest homes in Hove. "I want the fight and I cannot see why they have turned it down. Bugner is better than some other people they have let fight over here."

The board ruled that "on

the basis of two contests not of a high standard it is not

prepared to grant a licence to

"Joe has passed all his medi-cals and the WBO have sanc-tioned the fight," he said.
"There can't be a problem with his age because Dennis Andries is still fighting and I promoted George Foreman here when he was past 40.

"Joe came back to the ring and won the Australian title. What is he supposed to do, come back after eight years and fight somebody in the world top 10?" Warren may stage the fight in the Republic of Ireland,

which is outside the board's iun isdiction. nounced its decision the sec

Before the board an retary, John Morris, said: "I don't think it's good for boxing to go through the Joe Bugner syndrome again."
To the surprise of nobody,

lia-domiciled Bugner out-pointed Vince Cervi in eptember and on February 2 he beat the American West Turner in Perth. Tommy Morrison, the American heavyweight who

said.

has been diagnosed as having the virus that causes Aids. says he is not sure whether he contracted it through his active sex life or from boxing. "I don't know if I got it from a girl or fighting." he said in Oklahoma. "But it doesn't matter how I got it. I'm going

pion was "very disappointed" with the board. "All through

my career they have done nothing but give me grief." he

The Hungary-born, Austra-

to do everything I can to edu-cate people. Four or five years ago I was a big, tough guy thinking I was bulletproof. As Morrison and his girlfriend Dawn Freeman await the result of tests on her, Lennox Lewis, who beat the American last October, yesterday offered him his sympa-thy and urged him to "stay

Towers hopes rest on a flawed Diamond

Robert Pryce

T SEEMED that Nick Nurse had found the key to the London Towers, then Kevin Cadle changed the locks. Nurse's Birmingham Bullets caused disarray among

the Budweiser League's most gifted team in beating them twice in 10 days. In the second of these games, the National Cup semi-final first leg on Monday, they led 69-54. But Cadle switched his guards Monday, they led 69-54. But guards, Nurse found the flaw ries me most," says Cadle, "is Cadle switched his guards in "Diamond" Danny Lewis, a my own team." His Diamond and soon the crisis passed mercurial American guard holds the key.

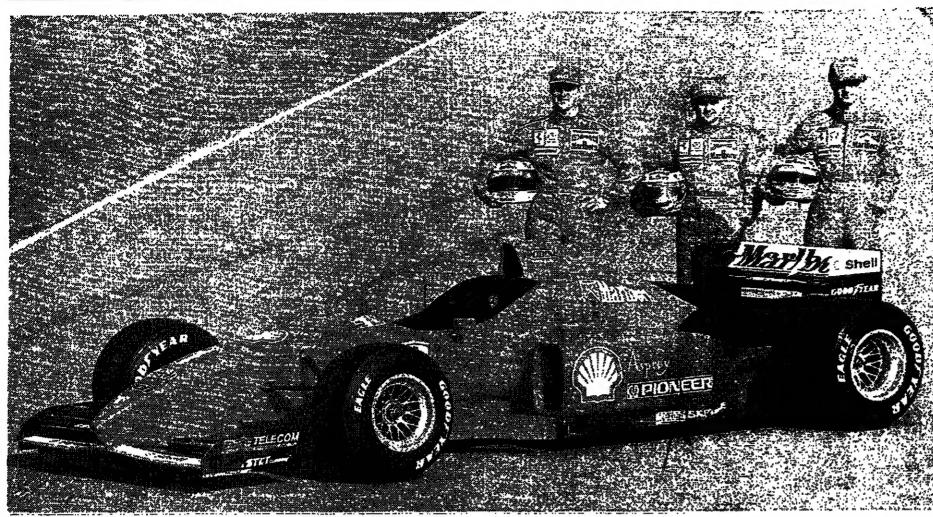
London lost the first leg 79-77, | who has been required to take but took the second leg on on most of the Towers' play-Wednesday 99-77. Now only the Sheffield Sharks lie between them and

a clean sweep of the season's major prizes. The Towers and the Sharks will contest the National Cup final on March 3. And they meet at Wembley Court tonight in the game that may decide the Budweiser League.

By attacking the Towers'

making duties. In the three games against Birmingham this month, he hit only four field goals (in 16 attempts) and turned the ball over 13 times. After a wild spell early in the second half of the second game, he was benched. The Sharks will not follow Nurse's strategy exactly, but they will press the Towers'

SCHUMACHER UNVEILS THE REVOLUTIONARY NEW FERRARI



'We have the means to win the championship. Last year we had two good drivers in Alesi and Berger but this year we have something more: we have a star'

N A time-honoured cere-mony which during recent years has come to represent the ritual triumph of hope over experience, the Scuderia Ferrari yesterday presented their contender for the 1996 Formula One championship, a car so eagerly awaited that presence of the team's new leader, the German double world champion since Jody Scheckter in 1979

Local enthusiasts left their | was Jean Alesi's lucky strike jobs to line the bridges and fences separating Ferrari's Florano test track from the main Abetone-to-Modena road as the new car, designated the F310, sat glittering in the spring-like Emilian sun. Its scarlet bodywork shrouding the first 10-cylinder engine ever produced at the Maranello factory, the car his new team-mate Eddie Irlooked beautiful. But then in February they always do.

make its debut at the Australian Grand Prix on March 10. This will be the 555th grand prix contested by the Scu-deria Ferrari since the world championship began in 1950. Yet only eight of its record 105 present decade, no Ferrari driver has won the world title and last year's sole success

Alesi and Gerhard Berger were the casualties when Fer-rari and Philip Morris, their chief sponsor, agreed to pay Schumacher £33 million over two years to bring his un-rivalled speed and discipline to bear on the team's motivation. But Schumscher, with vine by his side, yesterday maintained his shrewd policy

"I hope we're going to win a couple of races this season." Schumacher said. "That's the

After a week of testing in of playing down the team's ant president, Luca di Monte-Portugal the new car will immediate ambitions. issue a more bullish pledge of three victories in 1996. That Schumacher said. "That's the may not sound many but it is target, and then to be ready to one more than the red cars

> Richard Williams sees the new F310 launched at Fiorano as Ferrari's master exudes ten-cylinder optimism for 1996

ship in 1997. This season I think we have to concentrate on developing reliability. "Ferrari had 13 retired last season and I don't think we can put that right in three months. I'm sure we'll be competitive but I don't know if we'll finish all the races." So his face was a picture

when the company's flamboy-

seasons put together. Montezemolo, who maniged one renaissance of the team during the Niki Lauda years in the mid-Seventies, was brought back to rescue Ferrari four years ago by Gianni Agnelli, the president of Fiat and his long-time patence of running first Juventus and then the World Cup in | Italy has taught him that | ment may be fine for Germans, the Italian people require bold promises.

Reports that Agnelli had with Schumacher or face the unthinkable possibility of a withdrawal from racing were denied by the man himself, 90 per cent stake in the com-who had arrived by helicop-ter to bestow his blessing 400 journalists and a hundred never set deadlines," he said. 'Tve learned from Italian never really final."

Nevertheless Agnelli clearly feels that he has done all he can, and it is up to the team to seize the time. "When I think about Ferrari," he continued, "it is as a fan. And the fans have shown great pa

it's time to repay them.

the championship. We have the men. We have best drivers on the market. Last year we had two good drivers in Alesi issued an ultimatum to and Berger, but this year we Montezemolo that Ferrari have something more: we must win the championship have a star. All that is missing is the championship. Agnelli, whose deal with Ferrari in 1968 bought Fiat a

or so guests for a morning that evoked both the past and present of the most illustrious name in grand-prix racing. The late Enzo Ferrari insti-

tuted these events in the Fifties, and among those in attendance yesterday were several of his friends and collaborators, men now in their nineties, white-haired, elegantly bundled in cashmere overcoats and scarves against

But one thing he had learnt from Enzo. Montezemolo said. was 'to look forward, never Turn to page 15, column 2

Set by Mercury

Guardian Crossword No 20,577

Sky high demands from Bruno



chums in Westminweek against Sky TV's exclusivity found some surprising support off the Atlantic coast ain's two most celebrated champion boxers chipped in their own two penn orth about Murdoch's satellite sports channel.

Nigel Bennand Frank Bruno are both in Tenerife's sunshine preparing for their ship defences — Benn's against Thulane Malinga in Newcastle on March 2 and Bruno against Mike Tyson in as Vegas a fortnight later. First, the always combative Benn refused to let Sky cameras film his training because he said. "they have not shown me consistent enough respect in my years as champion". This seemed particularly quirky on Benn's part as Sky

were looking to promote the fight their cameras are covering. But, if the mood takes you I suppose an Englishman is allowed to cut off his nose to spite his face on the island Admiral Nelson lost his arm

Bruno's outburst was much case he is costing the promoters an arm and a leg to fight — £4 million — but rumours are thick that they will be charging subscribers extra to watch it. If so, Bruno wants a cut of the extra revenue above the £4 million purse he originally ne gotiated when the fight with Tyson was made following his victory over Oliver McCall a contest which gave Sky reportedly their highest ever

OW sport's most cuddly totem might be grateful for my £4 million. That's the going rate. But if Sky are doing 'pay-perview' it could put a different complexion on my gratefulness. But they won't tell me anything. If it is pay-per-view and they want me to particlpate, aren't I entitled to a little shout? But they just call me greedy. It's not greed, it's busi ness. I have been trying to meet Mr Chisholm (Sam, Sky's chief executive) for a

long time. When I was invited to 10 Downing Street by John hear this Mr Chisholm is there, so I'm chasing around the rooms trying to get hold of him and I just can't get to meet the guy. Where is he" Who is he" is he Prince Charles or something royalty?

"I've nothing against Sky's presentation, they're new and for me before the McCall fight, all the trumpets and tireworks, was unbelievable. But it was my fighting that gave now there is serious talk of charging extra for my next the buck and called me creedy it's not greed that I should get a few crumbs and a bit of the

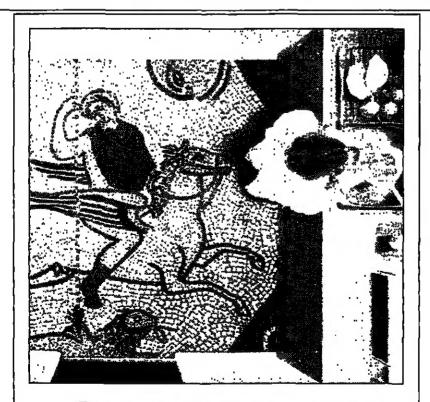
extra gravy, is it?" He spoke of what can be called his national fan club. "I think of all the little old ladies who watch me and write to anyway They complain be-cause Sky subscriptions are so difficult for them at around 2300 a year. Now they want to charge extra for pay-per-view But if they want me to be part of that then surely I'm entitled to the crumbs and gravy. But they don't tell me anything. I suppose because I'm not an educated boy with six O-levels

lons, trillions, zillions more than me. I'm grateful for what I'm getting but now only to a ertain extent - and they label me 'a greedy bastard'. If they want to take the piss out of me and think they can say all these untruths that's very arrong. It's me who's making the history for them at this fight and I've got to look after my family, put corn on the ager, I've got to look after my-self. I won't have people tak-

ing the piss out of me.
"Mind you, this isn't getting
me down. My priority is still
the boxing. I've been in it for the giddy heights of the mountains and been kicked down four times, so this sort of thing with television is peanuts compared to those times, but I feel it's still important. If I really was a greedy hastard and an evil ungrateful so and so, this would certainly get me down, but luckily I'm a humble human being who just wants to make his family se cure for the rest of their lives and be proud to walk the streets and never have to beg for nothing."

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Chisholm.



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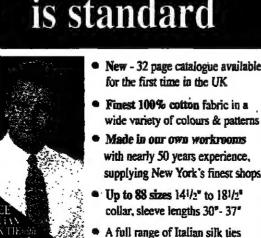
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Across 1 Lay ili, all in (6) 4 Frisk doctor in prison (6) 9 Car in fog reversed onto barrier or which driver's fined (8,7) 10 Modest tea set needs replacing (6) 11 Circling overhead keen to

12 Groan about mould on fabric 14 Show evil student leaving once nothing's missing (6) 15 You finally fled with us to a

protect ringleader (8)

planet (6) 18 Fish tea noisily consumed by theatre worker (8)

21 Meticulous accountant relected by clergyman (8) 22 Not a day to admit bad bac is sagging (6) 24 Which provides writers with

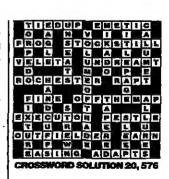
useful points? (6.9)

25 Baffled cast (6) 26 Marsh will be found if not in

service (6)

- Down 1 Comrade starts running into trouble (7)
- 2 Seem so short of round 3 Flavouring I understand a joiner goes without (7)
- 5 A couple of fellows, competent and friendly (7) 6 Living on bread endlessly, object (9)
- 7 Fancy Colin accepting an account that's briefl (7) 8 Disregard, in Scandinavian
- money, about £1,000 (6) 13 One can run reviews for a BBC employee (9)

16 The most prosperous being Eric he's taken inside



7 Believe partition will be used during broadcast (7)

18 Notice the angry people do 19 Leave after having less than required amount of experience (7)

20 Mythical musician scrambled up horse (7) 23 Ring a salesman up, wanting

Solution tomorrow

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